













# Essays on Indian History and Culture

*(Collection of selected articles—a reprint)*

Editor

SURENDRA NATH SINHA

*M.A., D. Phil. F.R.A.S.*

Department of History and Culture

Jamia Millia Islamia

New Delhi

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# **ESSAYS ON INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE**



# **C O N T E N T S**

<b>Publisher's Note</b>	<b>I—III</b>
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>IV—XXII</b>
<b>1. The Self-Revelation of Babar</b> <i>By A. Yusuf Ali</i>	<b>1-23</b>
<b>2. The Agricultural Statistics of Akbar's Empire</b> <i>by W. H. Moreland</i>	<b>25-63</b>
<b>3. The Folklore of Kumaon</b> <i>By Rev. E. S. Oakley</i>	<b>65-89</b>
<b>4. Some Remarks on the Mughal Currency</b> <i>By C. J. Brown</i>	<b>91-98</b>
<b>5. Games and Festivals of Garhwal</b> <i>By T. D. Gairola and D. A. Barker</i>	<b>99-106</b>
<b>6. Hakim Mehdi</b> <i>By S. B. Smith</i>	<b>107-120</b>
<b>7. A Seal of Virbhadra</b> <i>By Gopi Nath Kaviraj</i>	<b>121-125</b>
<b>8. Shrangar Shataka</b> <i>Ed. by R. P. Dewhurst</i>	<b>127-219</b>



*Dedicated*  
*to the Sacred Memory of*  
**Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru**  
*As a token of respect*  
*for his interest in*  
*Indian History and Culture*





## PUBLISHER'S NOTE

“The poor, the illiterate, the ignorant, the afflicted—let these be your Gods. Know the service to these alone is the highest religion.” Thus spoke Swami Vivekanand the saint and savant of Modern India, to give symbolic expression to all that is so humane and noble in Indian tradition. His words inspired many to translate his message into deeds. Some did it in big ways. Their services to suffering humanity continue through the charitable institutions they founded. But a humble ones who imbibed the spirit of his message also obviated the sufferings of the poor and the needy with their meagre means and in smaller domains of action. The services so rendered must also continue. This is the way to reinforce the most human of Indian Culture unreveged by tide of time. Among the humble carriers of the Indian tradition comes late Ram Behari Sinha of Allahabad.

Shri Sinha was a man of quiet disposition and unassuming manners always willing and keen to help the poor and the destitute. He had provided assistance to many poor students to enable them to continue their studies or improve their fortune. He was born in 1894 in a middle class family of Tarabganj in district Beharich (U.P.). Due to adverse financial circumstances of his parents he had to struggle hard to continue his studies. This brought him much closer to the realities of life and, the real problems of the unprevielged. After completing his school education he came to Allahabad to join intermediate class in the Kayasth Pathshala. As a student he participated in the Congress Movement. He was a student of B.A. Final in Allahabad University when he left his studies to join the non-cooperation movement. Greatly inspired by the Gandhian philosopny, Shri Sinha decided not to enter the government service. He later graduated from Kashi

(ii)

Vidyapeeth (in *Samvat* 1978/1921 A.D.) along with those students who had earlier discontinued their studies to participate in the National Movement.

Shri Sinha came in close contact with Rajrishi Purshottam Das Tondon, and established a small Litho press mainly for printing the posters and pamphlets for the Congress party. Later Rajrishi Tondon, the then Chairman of Allahabad Municipal Board appointed Shri Sinha as the Asstt. Tax Superintendent. He was promoted as the Octroi Superintendent in 1932. He died in harness on 15th October, 1953. He was intimately known to Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Shri Shafi Ahmed Kidwai, Sardar Narbada Prasad Singh, Shri Kamta Prasad Kakkar, Dr. N.P. Asthana, Munshi Ambika Prasad, and Shri Bishambar Nath Pande.

Besides being actively associated with the civic life of Allahabad, Shri Sinha was an active Trustee of Kayastha Pathshala. He had been General Secretary of the U.P. Municipal Employees Association, and had also worked for a considerable time as the Secretary of the Trade and Industrial Development Committee of Allahabad Municipal Board.

Shri Sinha was deeply interested in Persian literature and also in the study of Indian History and Culture. He was greatly influenced by the teachings of Kabir and Swami Vivekanand. With his meagre and limited means and in his own humble way he was always ready to help the poor students, the sick and the disabled.

The members of his family after his death donated their entire land in the village Girai to perpetuate his memory, to Gurukul Vedic Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya Sirathu, Allahabad for establishing a school. This was done essentially to fulfil such a desire of late Shri Sinha.

With a view to perpetuating the memory of Shri Ram Behari Sinha and to continue the work started by him in a humble manner, his admirers and relatives have set up Ram Behari Memorial Centre. It is duly registered body under the Societies Registration Act XXI of 1860. The Centre has decided to publish a book, if possible, annually, named *Essays on Indian History and Culture* under the auspices of the Centre. A substantial part of the sale proceeds of the publications of the Centre shall be earmarked for financial assistance to the weaker section of the society and for Seminars or Memorial lectures. The Centre also aims at the publications of such material which may help in understanding Indian History and Culture in its proper perspective.

The Centre is grateful to M/s Shanti Prakashan for their whole

(iii)

hearted cooperation and interest in the publication of this volume. They were generous enough to bear the entire responsibility of this publication and agreed to be its sole distributors.

The Centre is thankful to the Naresh Shandilya of Konark Mudranalya for his all possible interest and care in the printing of this book.

The Centre is extremely grateful to Mr. S. Ansari for his help in various ways.

But for the help and guidance of Mr. Shyamji Dubey this publication would have not been possible.

Hon. Secretary.



## INTRODUCTION

The present volume of *Essays on Indian History and Culture* is a reprint of selected articles on Indian history and culture, published over half a century ago in the learned journals. They are ordinarily not available now. Scholars have since long felt the need of these useful, now rare, articles. Scholars die but their outstanding works always remain alive materially contributing to the process of evolution and growth of research work. They continue to provide inspiration to the succeeding generations. The present volume is an humble attempt to cater to such a need. Any introduction is hardly needed to these well known research papers. An attempt has, however, been made to provide to the readers a glimpse into the nature and contents of the articles.

In the near past the number of institutions of higher learning have considerably increased and in most of the new libraries the back volumes of the important journals are not available. Even at places where these volumes are available the paper has become so brittle that it is difficult to use them freely and frequently.

All the articles selected for reprinting in this volume are from different issues of the *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*. They are :

- (i) The Self-Revelation of Babar by A. Yusuf Ali vol III Pt.2. September 1926. (pp 61-82)
- (ii) The Agricultural Statistics of Akbar's Empire by W.H. Moreland Vol II Pt. 1. June 1919 (pp 1-39)
- (iii) The Folklore of Kumaon by Rev. E.S. Oakley Vol I Pt. 1 September 1917 (pp. 34-58)
- (iv) Some Remarks on the Mughal Currency by J..C Brown Vol. I Pt. 1 September 1917 (pp. 152-159)

- (v) Games and Festivals of Garhwal by Tara Dutt Gairola and D.A. Barker. Vol I. Pt. 1, September 1917 (pp. 160-167)
- (vi) Hakim Mehdi by S.B. Smith Vol. I, Pt. 1. September 1917 (pp. 168-181)
- (viii) A Seal of Virbhadra-the Baghela Prince of Rewa-A Note. by Gopi Nath Kaviraj. Vol. I Pt. 1 September 1917 (pp. 182-186)
- (viii) The Shrangar-Shataka of Bhartrhari, with an old commentary in Hindi written early in the Seventeenth century edited by R.P. Dewhurst I.C.S. Vol. I Pt. 1 September 1917 (pp. 60-151)

A word might be needed in regard to the pagination of this book. Attempt has been made to retain the original pagination of every article. It may be helpful to check the references. In the beginning of every article the details of the concerned article along with its pagination in the present volume has been given on a separate sheet.

It is hoped that this endeavour of Ram Behari Memorial Centre will go a long way in helping the research work in the field of Indian history and culture. In the subsequent volumes more useful and rare articles will be reprinted.

The first paper in this volume entitled *The Self-Revelation of Babar* was written by A. Yusuf Ali C.B.E. It was first read on Saturday, the 31st March 1923 before the members of the United Provinces Historical Society. Regarding the object of this paper the author has said : "...my object is not to narrate the events [of Babar's life but to study the psychology and development of a most fascinating personality." (p.61) Thus the author has tried and perhaps for the first time to analyse the memoirs of Babar from a new angle. In 1857 Ilminski's text was printed. It was later translated into French by Pavet de Courteille (1871). In 1826 Leydon and Erskin produced an 'excellent' English translation from an imperfect manuscript. They however added a valuable historical and geographical introduction. In 1921 Sir Lucas King published an up-to-date, revised and duly edited translation of Leydon and Erskin. However the translation of Mrs Beveridge published in 1921 in two volumes is more comprehensive with additional notes. The lectures delivered by Rushbrook William on Babar in 1915-16 were published under the title "An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century". Thus the author had before him sufficient material on life and writings of Babar. However,

while writing this article he has mainly relied on the translation of Sir Lucas King (p 65 n 1). Mrs Beveridge in her scholarly translation of Babarnama has given valuable notes on the gaps in the memoirs (pp. XXXIV-XXXVIII). But Yusuf Ali says "It is however, more probable that the gaps in the text were Babar's own and that he had no time to complete his autobiography. The agreement of the different manuscripts, Turki and Persian implies that we have the text substantially as it was written by Babar" (p. 62).

Mrs. A.S. Beveridge in the preface of her translation of Babarnama (XXXiv) records : "The relative proportions of saved and lost text are highly significant : Babur's [commemorable years are about 47 and 10 months, i.e. from his birth on Feb 14th, 1483 to near his death on Dec. 26th, 1530, but the aggregate of surviving text records some 18 years only and this not continuously but broken through by numerous gaps. That these gaps result from loss of pages is frequently shewn by broken sentence, an unfinished episode. The fragments-as they truly may be called-are divided by gaps sometimes seeming to remove a few pages only. Sometimes losing the record of 6 and *Cir.* 18 months, sometimes of 6 and 11 years; besides these actual clefts in the narrative there are loses of some 12 years from its beginning and some 16 months from its end. Briefly put we now have the record of *Cir* 18 years where that of over 47 could have been "

About the sequence of narration of events and gaps in the *Memoirs* Yusuf Ali records "There is no doubt that the *Memoirs* as Babar wrote them began as we have them. There is a careful summary of historical events leading upto his own life-story. In many places reference is made to later events, including those that occurred after conquest of Hindustan, we may conclude this part was written up carefully in India towards the end of Babar's life. This portion covers the years from 899 H/1494C (to the early part of 914 H/1508 C, with a short break for the period from the end of 908 H/1502 C to the beginning of 910 H/June 1504 C. Another and more serious break covering eleven very important years occurs from 914/1508 C to 925 H/1519 C". (p. 63-64) The author considers this as "a dark period in Babar's fortune..." About the third gap in the *memoirs* the author refers to the years from 1520 A.D. to 1525 A.D.

The author is convinced on the basis of the internal evidence that the text was written in India. He says 'There are, however, a few long passages which are evidently carefully and systematically com-



piled and practically form independent treaties. For example, after the entry of 28th Rajab 932 H/10th May 1526 C he inserts a carefully compiled description of Hindustan, preface by some reflections on his conquests, in which he reviews very rapidly the past history of the country. He expressly refers to the 'Tabaqat-i-Nasiri' showing that he had been studying Indian History after the conquest." (p. 64) Beveridge has described this position under the heading "Expeditions of Trammontane Muhammadans into Hind". (see Beveridge pp. 478, 479, 480-Ed) Babar had much interest in literature. The author says "His (Babar's) reading had been very wide and had extended to such pure gems of literature as the Quran, Firdausi's Epic, the poems of Amir Khusrau, the masnavi of Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi, the mysticism of Hafiz and Nizami, the ethics of Sadi, and the allegories of Jami (who was almost his contemporary). Most of his studies and education could have been possible before the age of eleven." (pp. 76-77).

Regarding Babar's nature the author says, "As a boy he was strong and energetic, but impulsive and adventurous...As he grew up, his experience taught him to be more cautious even of his friends; but he never lost the character of generosity to his friends and relatives and chivalry to women." (p. 67).

According to the author from the *memoirs* it could not be known when Babar started drinking wine perhaps because of the gap in his accounts from 1508 A.D. to 1519 A.D. But from 1519 onwards there are frequent references of drinking parties as if it was an everyday occurrence. "But a more serious habit even than that of drinking wine was the habit of taking intoxicating drugs" (n. 70). He had started taking 'Confection called Kamal'.

The author emphasises that the *memoirs* is full of character sketches of all sorts of people, men and women and include even an obituary notice of a favourite hawk. And points out Babar's love of nature as a special feature of his *memoirs*. Babar has given a graphic description of his father "including an account of his personal appearance, his dress, his theological views, his readings, his friends and court, his wars and his ladies." (p. 73). Giving his comments on this part of the *memoirs*, the author says "One wonders how much of this description was a more or less conscious sketch by Babar of his own character." (p. 74).

The thing that Babar missed in India was fruit. But he planted vineyards and orchards and got the best fruit trees from Kabul and

Central Asia. The author points out how Babar was truly delighted with having produced excellent melons and grapes in India. What disturbed him most in India was the heat and strong winds and the dust. He was fond of neatness and order, and especially criticised haphazard way in which things were planned in India.

In the words of the author, "It is impossible to dismiss it with the remark that he (Babar) had no revenue system. The figures he gives in his "particular and detailed statement" are obviously an abstract by provinces of careful registers and accounts maintained by his Treasury. They are not merely in round sums, but descend in one case to the half of a Tanka....." (p.79).

The author concludes "The sincerity of his soul, in strength and weakness, shines from every page of his self-revealing record." (p.82)

(ii) "*The Agricultural Statistics of Akbar's Empire*" by W.H. Moreland. It is one of the most important and valuable articles written by Moreland and referred to by a number of scholars in course of their study. Perhaps for the first time a systematic attempt had been made through this article to examine and analyse the statistics of Akbar's reign as provided by *Ain-i-Akbari* in its *Accounts of the XII Subas*.

This paper is significant in more than one way. Besides being a pioneer effort it attempted to present a meaningful picture with the help of these statistical details. Moreland tried to co-relate them with socio-economic life. He also attempted to verify the authenticity of the figures used for this purpose. He had very ably pointed out the errors which had unfortunately been introduced in the process of transcription of the manuscripts. He has, therefore, rightly cautioned: "Before any of the figures can be used, it is necessary to take a large number of them into consideration and to devise methods by which material error can be eliminated, but if such methods can be found they will be of general applicability, and thus serve a key to unlock what from the outside looks like a treasure-house, though until the key has been found speculation as to the value of the treasure is obviously out of place." (p.1)

In this paper Moreland has attempted to determine (i) the 'precise significance' of these figures, (ii) the methods for eliminating errors and when they are done then to work out (iii) the comparative geography of the tract (iv) to compare the figures with those of the corre-

sponding modern administrative areas and finally (v) to draw his conclusions from the figures so obtained.

Regarding the significance of the statistics Moreland observes: "There is no formal statement to show what the figures for area and revenue represent, and we have to deduce this information from the language used in this and other parts of Abul Fazl's works" (p.2) As regards the language used in this connection, Moreland and Yusuf Ali have examined it to some extent in their valuable paper 'Akbar's Land Revenue System as described in the Ain-i-Akbari in the *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* of 1918 pp.1-42

In the present paper Moreland believe "that area figures are given only for those parts of the Empire where the *Zabti* or regulation-system of assessment had been introduced. This system was based on returns prepared locally for each harvest, showing for each village the area then under crops, and the revenue due from that area at the prescribed assessment rates.....In each Suba where area recorded the heading describes the figures as *Zamin-i paimudah*." (pp.2-3) Moreland then proceeds to examine the matter further on the 'hypothesis' "that the areas given were drawn from the assessment returns."

Prof. Irfan Habib in his book *Agrarian System of Mughal India* (p.5, & n. 5,6,8) observes, "As to the kind of land covered by measurement in the Mughal period, Moreland has suggested that we should identify it with the "total cropped area, of modern statistics. It included this certainly, but we should speak more properly, perhaps, of the area sown, since the measured area also included the *nabud*, or area affected by crop failure. However, measurement does not seem to have been confined to land actually cultivated and was extended also to land regarded as cultivable."

Moreland has also discussed some important questions in regard to the revenue figures in this paper (p.4). The main points are as follows: (i), Do the statistics show total revenue or only revenue from lands? (ii) Does the land revenue include or exclude the assignments? (iii) Does it represent the demand or the collection? and finally (iv) Does it represent a theoretical or an actual demand? While giving detailed reasons in support of his views regarding the first question, he says "It appears to me to support strongly the presumption that the statistics were prepared from assessment returns, and show the land revenue, not the total revenue from all sources." (p.5)

Regarding the *second* question he feels "that the full demand is uniformly shown as *jama*, the assignments made out of it being specified separately. For the *third* question he considers 'that the statistics are based on the assessment-returns, which certainly showed demand and not collection. (Also see P. Saran's *The Provincial government of the Mughals* (p.318 n 2. Ed). While dealing with the *fourth* question Moreland has referred to Manucci (Vol II p.413) where he wanted to ascertain whether it was standard assessment (*Jama-i-Kamil*) or the demand of some particular year (*Jama-i-Wajib*) or the actual collection (*Jama-i-wasul*). Moreland consider it to be reasonable to take the figures of revenue as indicating the amount which the administration hoped to collect, that is the demand for the year as ascertained by the system of assessment in force." (p.6)

After discussing at length he suggests "that the statistics of area and revenue under discussion were most probably based on the assessment returns of a single year very shortly before the *Ain* was completed and show the area cropped in that year and the demand on that area, calculated on the *Zabti* or regulation system of assessment." (pp. 7-8).

In course of his exercise Moreland has referred to Blochmann's edition of *Ain-i-Akbari*. It may be mentioned here that Prof. Irfan Habib has found the figures of Blochmann at many places inaccurate and misleading (pp.2 & n 4, 178). As regards the error in figures, Moreland observes:

"In the printed text the words have been converted into Arabic figures and the Indian printer has had opportunities of his own while it may be added that the English figures in the Calcutta translation contain some serious discrepancies when compared with the printed Persian version. It is impossible, therefore, to accept the printed statistics as uniformly accurate--so far I can judge, the chief dangers are (a) alteration of individual digits (b) mis-alignment, bringing the figures opposite to a pargana to which they do not relate and (c) the insertion of an extra digit or the omission of one which should appear." (p.9)

Moreland has examined a number of figures in detail and has tried to present probable correct figures by adding or dropping a digit to arrive at a meaningful conclusion. He has also tried to calculate the *per bigha* land revenue. He says, "by the systematic application this rate-test we can detect nearly all the really great errors which have

crept into the statistics.....”(pp.13-14)

After due calculations Moreland has tried in this paper to show the increased area under cultivation from Akbar's time to early twentieth century (See also *The Agrarian System of Mughal India* by Prof. Iran Habib pp. 12,14,15 Ed.)

Dealing with another important point in this paper, Moreland observes “.....Abul Fazal notices the two chief cities, Benares and Jaunpur and a few places of minor importance as centres of industry, but has little to say about the country. In *Akbarnama* it is stated that on the march of an army along the South bank of the Gogra in what is now the Azamgarh district forests were traversed, and wild beasts, both land and aquatic showed themselves (*Akbarnama* II p. 396), a description which is entirely inapplicable at the present day. Finch was told that the journey from Jaunpur to Allahabad was thirty *Kos*. “all which are thorow a continuall Forest (Purchas I-IV. 437): this statement, which is calculated to surprise readers familiar with the country: is quite compatible with the statistics before us, and I know of no contemporary record which contradicted the view presented by these passages.” (p.23)

The above view based on the observation of Finch was strongly refuted by a modern scholar (See Prof. Irfan Habib's *Agrarian System of Mughal India* p. 13 n 37), where he writes “---But the belief that the forest extended so far as to interpose between Jaunpur and Ilahabad is based on a misunderstanding of the original evidence and we know otherwise that this could not have been the case.” The same author proceeds to explain the point and observes: “The original evidence for the forest consists of the following statement by Finch, in the course of a description of various itineraries: “Thus much from Agra to Jounpore this way [i.e. via Lakhnau and Ajodhya]: from thence (returning that way to Agra) to Alabasse is 110 *C* [Kos], 30 *C* all which are throw a continuall forest” (*Early Travels* p.177). It is possible to interpret this statement as meaning that the distance between Jaunpur and Ilahabad was 110 *Kos*, of which 30 *Kos* were covered by a forest. This is how De Laet (p.65) in copying Finch has read it. The interpretation put forward by the editor of *Early Travels* and by Moreland, is however, that 110 *Kos* represented the distance of the route from Jaunpur to Agra, via Ilahabad, and 30 *Kos* that part of it which lay between Jaunpur and Ilahabad. This seems to have no justification in the text. Under either interpretation 110 *Kos* would be

an incredibly wrong estimate of the distance. It would be too high for the distance between Jaunpur and Ilahabad...There remains one possible interpretation. The bracketed phrase, "returning that way to Agra" might not define the next route to be described but might be an abbreviated way of saying that we should return the way already described, to Agra in order to start on the new itinerary from there. "Tence" would, therefore, refer to Agra and 110 *Kas* would cover the distance between Agra and Ilahabad, certainly a reasonable estimate. The 30 *Kos* of forest must, on this reading, be put somewhere on this route. It is probable that this is an exaggerated description of the ravines and barren country through which the established route passed between Bhognipur and Fatehpur (Mundy 89, 92).

From Mundy's evidence it is clear that the route between Ilahabad and Jaunpur could not have been through continuous forest. He (p.110) praises this route without any suggestion of any wilderness astride it, and regrets that in proceeding from Ilahabad to Patna he adopted the alternative route running South of the Ganga."

The paper of Moreland, however, gives deeper insight into the agricultural statistics of Akbar's empire and furnishes many interesting and new interpretations and methods for its study.

(iii) *The Folklore of Kumaon* by Rev. E.S. Oakley is an important article. He has tried to highlight various social customs, superstitions and local traditions as reflected through the folklore of the Kumaon region. In this paper Oakley says "Folklore, the subject to which I refer, is a study subsidiary and auxiliary to History----". His observations are based on his personal survey of the region and at places he has tried to compare the practices and beliefs of the people of the area with that of the western countries. In his attempt he has very vividly described the socio-religious beliefs practised by the tribes in Kumaon during early twentieth century. He says, "It is a world that we find still to some extent existing in the secluded valley of this romantic province, among a people as yet but little touched by the modern spirit, and whose simple thoughts about life and nature often carry us back to remote antiquity, reminding us of old tags and rimes of primitive folklore in western land." (pp.34, 35). To him "the human body is everywhere in its general features identical, so the human mind in its working under similar circumstances begets a similar set of ideas" (p.35).

Earliest condition of man everywhere was one in which imagination predominated over the reason. The sun and moon to him were persons endowed with semi-human qualities. On account of this belief Oakley at times finds striking similarities in certain basic elements in the folklore of the east and the west. He illustrates his point (pp 39, 40), and refers to various superstitions prevailing among the tribes of Bhoksas. He says, "Another link of association with our western superstitions is the belief that the power of witchcraft cannot pass over a running stream." (p.41)

In course of his study of the local superstitions, the author notices certain safeguards against the witchcraft, some of which were like that of the European remedies. 'The flowers of the night-blooming *Berhu*, a species of fig-tree' was regarded as a talisman, "The folklorists explain that sneezing was generally regarded among the primitive people as dangerous to the soul of life..." Oakley refers to a number of superstitions which speak of human mind. Iron was considered of great significance. He says, "Pieces of iron, such a nail or knitting-needles, used to be stuck into meat, butter, cheese, etc. in the north of Scotland, to prevent "death" from entering them-Any iron instrument placed in a cradle protects children...Both these ideas relative to iron are found prevalent in Kumaon". (p. 45) He further records; "The Kumaon practice of branding of skin of children with a hot spindle-iron, for some diseases, may possibly be due to similar idea" (p. 45).

The souls of children who died, were believed in Kumaon became for a time lights on the hill side. There were similar beliefs about the children in the west. Oakley says, "The question naturally arises in the mind as to whether all such resemblances are mere accidental coincidence, or whether we have to recognise a possible inheritance of such ideas from some pre-historic racial centre or starting point." (p. 46) He concludes by saying "...human heart by which we live whether as Europeans or as Indians, and call to mind that in the great purpose of God all nations of mankind are made of one blood, of one heart and mind, to dwell together on the earth, and fulfil one high united destiny." (p. 58)

(iv) *Some Remarks on the Mughal Currency* by C.J. Brown. Coins have always remained an important source of study for understanding the historical developments. Their process of evolution and changes.

have helped in unearthing many unknown facts of history. Numismatics, in course of time, has developed into a full fledged subject of study. In this process the study of the old articles published on coins, now not available, is bound to help those who need them for study and research. Brown has mainly examined the coins of Jahangir's reign, because according to him "they present the most ready illustrations...and because we have his own comments in his memoirs on the coinage from time to time." In the present article Brown has made a close study of a number of important Mughal coins and has indicated the practice of farming out *mints* under the later Mughals. He observes :

"The privilege of coining was strictly guarded, at least so far as gold and silver were concerned, until in the time of Farrukhsiyar a new system of Farming out the mints was introduced." (p. 152).

Besides mentioning different varieties of coins, the author has pointed out that (i) all coins were not intended for general local use, (ii) nor were all coins bearing the name of a mint coined at that mint in the regular way, and (iii) a few coins were not coined in the mint the name of which they bear. He further suggests that "the *mohar* was to be found chiefly in the houses of the nobles, and it must have been largely used for *nazar* or in present from the Emperor, or as a convenient form for hoarding." (p. 153) He says that East India Company *mohars* were employed in *nazar* upto the time he had written this paper (i.e. 1917).

Among the coins with commemorative significance, Brown mentions the famous Hawk *mohar* of Asir of Akbar celebrating his capture of Asirgarh fort, the Muhammadabad Udaipur *mohar* commemorating Akbar's conquest of that place besides, a few others which were probably not in general circulation. Giving reasons in support of his view Brown feels that it was so because "(i) they are exceedingly rare (ii) they are gold mohars (iii) no other coins in gold or silver are known from those mints..." (p. 156).

He has also discussed about the Zodiacal coins in this paper and in its concluding part he writes : "How far Nur Jahan was responsible for these interesting coins we cannot tell, but Jahangir distinctly states they were his own invention" (p. 159) (Also see *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* Vol II Pp. 6, 7, The coins of the Mughal Emperors of Hindustan in the British Museum by Stanley Lane-Pool London 1892 pp xxxi, xxxii, Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal 1883, Coins by P L.



(Gupta, New Delhi 1969 p. 126 Ed.)

(v) *Games and Festivals of Garhwal*. This paper is jointly written by. Pt, Tara Dutt Gairola and Mr. D.A. Barker I.C.S.

This article is significant because it mainly deals with the indigenous social customs prevalent among the tribes of Garhwal region. The legends of the conquests of these outlying districts by the Garhwali heroes or *Bhars* was the favourite subject of the local bards. The authors record: "The recital of these "Bharwalis" or "Pawaras", as they are locally called, at all festivals and during the long wintry nights, form the chief pastime of the Garhwalis...The modernized Garhwali feels ashamed to sing and dance in the way his heroic ancestors did". (pp. 160.161)

Some of the most important games and festivals of the Garhwalis discussed in this paper, relate to the Bada or Bast, and the Dadamandi Ball game. The paper also refers to deep rooted superstitions in the socio-religious life of the people of Garhwal.

*Beda* or rope riding festival of the Garhwalis was probably universal in former times throughout the Himalya and had its origin no doubt in a sacrificial rite. It would be interesting to know in this connection as to what was done with the body of a *Badi* who happened to be killed during the performance of the rite.

The social history of different regions could be best understood by various beliefs, customs and practices adopted by the people at the grass-root level of society. Perhaps nothing more than the folklores, games and festivals can reveal their social ethos and conventions. This paper also helps in reading the mind of the people who socially accepted or rejected a practice in the name of local religious beliefs. And in this direction, the authors of this paper have given many useful information.

(vi) *Hakim Mehdi* by S.B. Smith. In the present article the author has traced the family background of Nawab Muntazim-ud-daula Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan Bahadur of Oudh and his outstanding contribution to the political history of the region during the early nineteenth century. The paper is quite valuable for the study of local political condition. It relates to many significant internal developments. In Lucknow he founded the charity known as Radde Mazalim.

His father Mirza Khwaja Sakhi was a Persian from Tabriz.

He settled in Kashmir and there Hakim Mehdi was born. Little is known about his early career. However, the author has given the genealogical tree of this family. He has pointed out that at that time the greater part of Oudh was divided into sixteen *Chaklas* administered under the *ijara* or contract system. "The contractor, known indifferently as Nazim, Amil, Chakledar or Mustagir not only compounded for the revenue of his district, but acted as governor with full powers, executive and judicial supported by a military force." (pp. 169-170).

In 1804 Hakim Mehdi was appointed Nazim of Mahumdi and had agreed to pay Rs. 3,11,000 a year. After a few years the area yielded Rs. Seven lakhs. (see *Sleeman in oudh* Ed. P.D. Reeves p. 218). In 1807 he acquired the contract for the adjacent district of Khairabad at a *Jamma* rate of five lakhs. There was rapid expansion of the *ijara* system in Oudh. The author writes : "The fine avenue that runs from Khairabad to Sitapnr was first planted by him ; he built the handsome bridges at Shahjahanpur and another over the Katli Nadi near Farrukhabad..." (p. 168, see also *Sleeman in Oudh* Ed. P.D. Reeves pp. 239, 262)

Hakim Mehdi adopted a systematic method for the the expansion of the area under cultivation and for that he gave certain concessions. Smith quotes : "That from the first crop he took nothing, from the second he took seventh, which he did not augment for two or three years more, till it was seen that the undertaking was decidedly beneficial to the speculator. In that case a fifth of the crop is demanded for government." (p. 170) Under him people paid happily and were prosperous. Sleeman found Hakim Mehdi's name very popular and treasured in the district with affection and respect. (See also *Sleeman in Oudh* Ed. P.D. Reeves p. 244)

Hakim Mehdi did not get on with the Resident Major Baillie. It resulted into much humiliation for Hakim Mehdi and to other developments in the region which was greatly due to Agha Mir. "The favour shown by Hastings to Hakim Mehdi intensified Agha Mir's hostility..." (p.173)

For eleven years Hakim Mehdi lived in exile,—first at Shahjahanpur, "but finding the Sunni society of that place uncongenial, he migrated to Fatehgarh...". (p. 174) In 1824 he invited Bishop Haber to his place. Captain Mundy has described him "as a handsome old man of courtly address."

Smith has referred to the important role played by Padshah Begum, the wife of Ghaziuddin Haider in the political life of Oudh. The author has dealt at length with the political rivalry between Hakim Mehdi and Agha Mir and its consequent developments.

While Hakim Mehdi was out of power the condition of Oudh had gone from bad to worse. "The streets of Lucknow and the roads in the immediate vicinity were the scene of nightly robberies and murders." (p. 175) There appeared to be no system of criminal and civil justice and the revenue officers were incapable of performing their duties. (See also *Sleeman in oudh* Ed. P. D. Reeves pp. 233, 234, 250)

Situation underwent a change and in June 1830 Hakim Mehdi was appointed minister and was given the title of Muntazim-ud-daula by which he was more commonly known. Resident Maddock was prejudiced against him and he decidedly considered Hakim "inimical to English influence." Lord Bentinck had, however, a different opinion about Hakim Mehdi and refuting the views of the Resident regarding him (recorded in July 1831 minutes-Oudh Papers) said, "...He indisputably one of the ablest men in India and is not surpassed by any other individual whether European or native as a Revenue administrator. He saw from the beginning that nothing would satisfy the Resident----- My hope has always been and is, that able as he certainly is beyond all other men to reform the administration, so, cordially assisted by a Resident whose advice, however firm and decided, shall never be wanting in conciliation and respect, he will be equally willing to accomplish this great object." (pp.175, 176)

Smith in this paper has clearly stated the contribution of *Muntazim-ud-daula* Hakim Mehdi, and that how he "justified Lord Bentinck's faith in him" and did his utmost in having an effective administration, which had earlier reached to a point of collapse. He successfully suppressed the rebels and the defiant elements. These measures restored public confidence and trade showed signs of improvement. One of his major interest was "substituting the *amani* for the farming system throughout the kingdom." It had its own difficulties because of the vested interests. But in spite of all difficulties the work of reform did progress. The state was, however, again in the grip of political intrigues and it led to the fall of Hakim Mehdi.

Giving her estimate of him in 1835 on the occasion of Muharram, Fanny Parks writes: "he was a very religious man and kept the fast

with wonderful strictness and fortitude." She had also visited "a shawl factory which he had established to employ a number of destitute Kashmiris, in which three or four hundred workmen were engaged and a school for boys which he had founded." (p.181)

Hakim Mehdi died on 25 December 1837 after his reappointment as minister-a position which he incidently could not occupy.

The paper is full with many small yet interesting details which throw much light on the local political developments. It refers to the relation of different personalities and factions on the one hand and the attitude of the East India Company towards the affairs of the Oudh on the other.

(vii) In the columns of 'Notes and Queries' published in the *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society* Vol I pt 1. September 1917 there is an interesting note by Gopi Nath Kaviraj (pp. 182-186), the same has been included in this volume in the light of its significance.

The note is regarding a persian seal on the manuscript of *Katha Sarit Sagar* which was preserved in the Government Sanskrit Library, Varanasi. The author of the note has raised certain very important questions in regard to this seal of Virbhadra, son of Raja Ram Chandra, the Beghala ruler of Bandhogarh later known as the Rewa State.

The seal mentions "Virbhadra, the *banda* (Slave) of Sultan Salim" (p.183) The Seal bears the Hijra date 977 which corresponds to 1569 A.D. As there appeared to be no important person named Salim the obvious choice goes to prince Salim son of Emperor Akbar. Salim was born in 1569. It was the same year when Akbar occupied the fort of Kalinjar from Raja Ram Chandra who had surrendered it and had sent his son prince Virbhadra to the Imperial court. The Baghela prince had completed his book *Kandarpacnudamani* in 1577. It is confirmed from the internal evidence of the book that at that time Virbhadre was a youthful prince. He died in an accident in 1593 soon after the death of his father in 1592.

The author in this small note has tried to examine the probable reason of Virbhadra calling himself a 'Banda Sultan Salim in 1569' the year of Jahangir's birth.

(viii) The last article in this volume relates to a text of *Shrangan Shataka* of Bhartrhari, Edited by R.P. Dewhurst I.C.S.

He has edited a manuscript of *Shrangan Shataka* with an old commentary in Hindi written early in the seventeenth century. It constitutes an interesting specimen of early Hindi prose and the Sanskrit poem." (p.59) Dewhurst has tried to restore so many words and the arrangement of the stanzas in the manuscript with the help of two printed texts-Bombay text (1911, Vaibhav Press) and the Gopi Nath's edition (with translation 1914) He has also pointed out the variations even in the printed texts.

The chief interest of the author "naturally lies in the language of the Hindi Commentary". He points out that "there is great confusion and inconsistency in the use of the nasals and sibilants (p.63) The vocabulary employed is extensive and includes many obsolete and dialect words, for which dictionaries may be searched in vain" (p.64) The inconsistencies and idiosyncrasies of the spelling have been left untouched in reproducing it. In editing the text obvious errors have been eliminated as far as possible, but the peculiar grammatical forms and terminations have everywhere been left intact, and variant spellings have not been altered." (p.68)

In the second part of the article the author has given detailed grammatical notes, and has pointed out that the forms used in the Hindi commentary tends to "show that the language employed is of the western Braj Bhakha type"

The third part deals with the translation into Hindi along with duly edited Sanskrit stanzas.

The last section of the paper relates to 'notes and text' which is the most important part of the paper. In this section the author has examined almost every word of different stanzas of the manuscript and duly compared it with the two printed texts. One of the major contributions of the author in this connection is restoring of the correct word in the manuscript after due verifications. He has also tried to check the meaning of some words in their proper context. The errors and omissions of words have been especially pointed out.

It is unfortunate that little is known about the life of Bhartrahari. In this paper also Dewhurst has not taken up this aspect, not even in the form of preliminary remarks in his general introduction. However, it is believed that he belonged to seventh century. (Regarding the birth of Bhartrahari also see *Prabandhchintamani* text (p. 121) published by Singh Jain Granthmala).

Bhartrhari composed three *Shatakas* or Centuries-*Shrangan*

*Shataka*, *Niti Shataka* and *Vairagya Shataka*, they relate to love, wisdom and renunciation respectively. (see "On the authorship of the *Satakatrāyī*" by D.D. Kosambi. *Journal of Oriental Research Madras* (1946) pp. 64-77.)

*Shrāngar Shataka* deals with verses in which the pleasure of love and beauty of women on one hand, and the force of love and its joys, particularly the change of seasons, on the other are fully described. In *Shrāngar Shataka* the joy of love has been compared with the peace of mind attained through penance and wisdom and in the last quarter of the *Shatak* the poet comes to realise more and more that wife is merely a sweet poison, just a snake lying on the way, and love is merely an allurements that attracts one to worldly pleasure. He finally thinks that real happiness can be found only in renunciation of the world and in God. Thus a conflict between sensuousness and renunciation of the world has been projected. Bhartrhari in *Shrāngar Shataka* pursued the objective of leading from sexual pleasure to virtues and performance of duty and renunciation as the highest goal. He says :

"When in the darkness of love,  
Ignorant, I wondered about,  
I saw nothing,  
Nothing in the world, but only women;  
But just when I was cured of the blindness,  
Through knowledge, the ointment for the eye,  
Forthwith appeared all calmly over my eye,

And I saw in the world only one : Brahma". (M. Winternitz's—A History of Indian Literature Vol. III Pt. I—Classical Period (1963) p. 155,

J.J. Meyer called Bhartrhari "one right characteristic brain of old India" that represents the "typical Hindu" in his wavering between glowing sensuality and asceticism." H. Oldenberg openly calls him "...an Indian living in a forest."

After Kalidas Bhartrhari was perhaps the most popular poet of Sanskrit literature. He was the first Indian poet who became so famous in Europe.

Among all the scholars who have so far attempted the study of Bhartrhari's works, Prof. D.D. Kosambi's contribution is far more comprehensive, exhaustive and critical. In course of his study on the subject he has consulted a number of manuscripts of different *Sataks*

of Bhartrhari. Some of them available at Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Poona (B.O.R.I.) are given below

- (i) B.O.R.I. 277/1883-4-Niti and Srangar only
  - (ii) B.O.R.I. 391/1892-95 Srangar and Vairagya only.
  - (iii) B.O.R.I. 795/1886-92
  - (iv) B.O.R.I. 382/1884-87 order of stanzas changed but text agrees often
  - (v) B.O.R.I. 334 *Ms* of *Tika* only,
  - (vi) Gackwar's Oriental Research Institute Baroda No. 1370
  - (vii) —do— No. 1780
  - (viii) Sanskrit Pathshala Collection Rajapur No. 5
- (Also see BORI (*Mss*) catalogue Kavya Collection Vol. XIII by P.K. Gode)

Kosambi, has studied carefully different manuscripts of Bhartrhari's *Sataks* and has edited them. His following works are very valuable on the subject.

- (i) *The Satakatrayam* of Bhartrhari with the commentary of Ramarsi, edited in collaboration with Pt. K.V. Krishnamoorthi Sarma. (Anandashram Sanskrit Series No. 127 Poona 1945)
- (ii) *Satak Trayam* (published as Bhartiya Vidya Series No. 9, Bombay 1946)
- (iii) *Subhashit Trishiti* (Lakshmi Narain Chaudhari, Nirmanya Sagar Press, Bombay 1957)
- (iv) *Satak Trayam* (Series No. 29 Singhi Jain Shastri Shiksha Peeth, Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay 1959)

Kosambi's articles on various aspects of Bhartrhari's *Sataks* were published in different leading journals. Some of them are given below for reference :

- (i) Vienna Oriental Journal Xvi pp 202-205
- (ii) The quality of renunciation in Bhartrhari's poetry : Fergusson College Magazine 1941,
- (iii) Some extent versions of Bhartrhari's *Satakas* J.B.B.R.A S. vol XXI (1945) pp 17-32,
- (iv) The Southern Archetype of Epigrams ascribed to Bhartrhari. Bhartiya Vidya series No. 9. Bombay 1946 pp 49-62 (The first critical edition of any Bhartrhari recension.)
- (v) On the authorship of the *Satakatrayi* Journal of Oriental Research Madras Vol. XV (1946) pp. 64-77, and
- (vi) The Epigrams Attributed to Bhartrhari (Singhi Jain Series No. 23) Bombay 1948. "This is the first comprehensive edition of the poets

work and still remains the editio princeps, being cited in books on Indian text-criticism as land mark in critical methods".)

However, it appears to be quite significant that the present manuscript of Bhartrhari's *Shangara-Shataka* has the oldest commentary in Hindi written early in the seventeenth century by Kishor Das. It has been very carefully edited by R.P. Dewhurst and published it in 1917. It seems that somehow it escaped the attention of D.D. Kosambi (Also see *Subhashit Trishti* (p.2) where he writes".....under these circumstances it seemed best to give a commentary from as old a codex as available. This turned out to be the Andhra Sahity Parishad's palm-leaf Telgu Ms. No.1035 whose 65 folios give the complete text and commentary of the Niti and Srangar-Satakas. The cover folio gives the horoscope of a son born to some one in Saka 1682/A.D. 1760. So that the Ms is not later than the date-----The collection was made in 1948 by me jointly with Pt.K.S. Krishnamoorthi Sharma....."

Another important aspect of the present commentary in Hindi appears to be that the beginning of Hindi prose-writing (though a little different in expression), was much older than normally it is considered to be.

For some of the works on Bhartrhari mention may be made to *Srangara Sataka* translation by P.V. Bohlen. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1893 p. 342, *Journal of American Oriental Society* 1902 p.313, *Prabandhchintamani* trans. C.H. Tawney, *Kavyamala* (Bombay), 1895 p. 132, 1897 p.37. *The Religions of India* London 1889 p.218. *Indian Antiquary* 1878 pp.47, 298 *The Satakas of Bhartrhari* in Greek by D. Galanos Athens 1845, in French by Regnaud 1875, and *The Satakas or wise Sayings of Bhartrhari* translated by J.M. Kennedy London. Recently another work has been published entitled *Bhartrhari's Sataktray* edited by Venkat Rao (1977).

Before I conclude this introduction, I consider it a matter of privilege to express my deep sense of gratitude and indebtedness to my two *Gurus*—Prof. M. A. Ansari and Prof. C. B. Tripathi. While the former has given his overwhelming love and nurtured my career with interest and care, the latter initiated me in research and gave his deep affection and a direction to my life and made it worth the name. But for them I would have been in the wilderness.

This volume is dedicated to the sacred memory of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru who had great interest in Indian History and Culture.

SURENDRA NATH SINHA







Ram Behari Sinha  
(1894—1953)



## THE SELF-REVELATION OF BABAR.

(*A paper read before the United Provinces Historical Society  
at Lucknow on Saturday, the 31st March, 1923.*)

BY A. YUSUF ALI, C.B.E.

**I**N this paper my object is not to narrate the events of Babar's life but to study the psychology and development of a most fascinating personality. The great figures of history are often subjects of wild controversies, and very little of their own inner thought can be gleaned authoritatively from the voluminous records which other people write about them or contemporary pictures which **fix** their gaze on particular achievements according to the **standpoint** of the writers. Even despatches and personal **memoranda**, written in an atmosphere of power and authority, are apt to be overladen with ponderous matter, and to lack the sincerity and artlessness of notes and reflections jotted down from time to time and reflecting the moods of the moment, which taken collectively constitute life and personality. In Babar's case we have such a simple and private record in his Diary. It is artless in the sense that it comes direct from the heart, proceeds swiftly, and takes the reader into its confidence without any *arrière pensée*. But in truth these qualities are the very stuff of the highest art. The simplicity, candour, and fulness of the record make it one of the most valuable human documents in history.

Babar's Diary (or memoirs), the Babar-nama, was originally written in the Chagatai dialect of Turki. We have available what is considered a direct copy from the manuscript written by Babar in his own handwriting.

This manuscript was discovered in the Salar Jang library at Hyderabad, Deccan and centupled in facsimile in 1905. We also know that Humayun himself copied his father's Babar-nama and added at least one marginal note. In Akbar's time it was translated into Persian for the use of the Court. Jahangir in his *Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri* (year 1607 A.C.) speaks of his having seen the manuscript of Babar in Babar's own "blessed handwriting," to which he himself added four passages. Shah Jahan also is known to have possessed Babar's autograph manuscript. From internal evidence it is supposed that the Hyderabad manuscript dates from about 1700 A.C. the reign of Aurangzeb. We have thus strong testimony to the fact that Babar's own autograph manuscript existed in India and was highly prized among his Imperial descendants for nearly 200 years after it was written. The internal evidence of the text leaves no doubt that he wrote it in India. Unless the manuscript was destroyed during the revolutions which brought about the fall of the Mughal Empire, we may still cherish the hope that the original may be found some day and possibly fill up the gaps that now exist in the text.<sup>1</sup> It is however more probable that the gaps in the text were Babar's own, and that he had no time to complete his autobiography. The agreement of the different manuscripts, Turki and Persian, implies that we have the text substantially as it was written by Babar.

In Turki literature Babar deservedly occupies a very high place. What I have said about the manuscripts shows that his memoirs were equally prized in India. Over European scholars they have exercised such a fascination that we may practically study his life and personality completely from European translations and monographs alone. The Russian Ilminski produced a text which was printed in 1857, and afterwards translated into

<sup>1</sup> See the notes on the manuscript in Mrs. Beveridge's valuable English translation of the Babar-nama. Pp. xl-xlix.

French by Mr. Pavet de Courteille. Ilminski also collected some fragments to supplement the autobiography. Leydon and Erskine produced in 1826 an excellent English translation from an imperfect manuscript, to which was prefixed a valuable historical and geographical introduction. This translation has been edited, revised and brought up to date by Sir Lucas King and published in two volumes by the Oxford University Press in 1921. Mrs. Beveridge also published her own independent scholarly translation in two volumes with complete analytical indexes in London in 1921. Her translation is closer to the original, but Sir Lucas King's is more handy for the general reader. Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole has published a most admirable summary of Babar's memoirs in what is rightly considered by Mr. Vincent Smith to be the best volume of the "Rulers of India" series. Mr. Rushbrook Williams, whom we know so well in the Department of Modern History in the Allahabad University, gave some lectures on Babar in 1915-16, and published them under the title of "An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century." Erskine's history and Caldecott's Life of Babar are other contributions to Babar literature in English. There is thus abundant literature in English alone from which the Indian student and publicist may study with advantage that most interesting period, the beginning of the sixteenth century in India, and that most remarkable personality, whose character and pioneer work have so much significance for us after the lapse of four centuries.

As I have said already, the diary is not complete. It begins abruptly in the year 899H/1494C when Babar became king of Farghana. He begins with a description of the boundaries and divisions of his kingdom, and a short account of his father, including a psychological analysis of his character, a narration of his wars, an account of his family including the ladies, and brilliant sketches of the Amirs of his court. Babar's geographical method almost reminds us of Caesar's commentaries. There is no doubt

that the memoirs as Babar wrote them began as we have them. There is a careful summary of Historical events leading up to his own life-story. In many places reference is made to later events, including those that occurred after his conquest of Hindustan. We may conclude that this part was written up carefully in India towards the end of Babar's life. This portion covers the years from 899H/1494C to the early part of 914H/1508C, with a short break for the period from the end of 908H/1502C to the beginning of 910H/June 1504C. Another and more serious break, covering eleven very important years occurs from 914H/1508C to 925H/1519C. This was a dark period in Babar's fortunes, though not nearly as dark as some of those which he had passed through in the earlier portion of his adventurous career. We should like to have known Babar's comments on the conflict of his great Uzbek opponent Shaibani Khan with his Persian rival Shah Ismail.

When the memoirs re-open from the beginning of the year 925H/1519C they assume the more informal shape of jottings day by day. Obviously from this time onwards we have the uncorrected daily diary, though here again we have a break from 936H/1520C to 932H/1525C, a period covering some of Akbar's preliminary expeditions into the Indian frontier. In some cases the day's entry is about quite trivial matters and runs to only two or three lines. There are however a few long passages which are evidently carefully and systematically compiled and practically form independent treatises. For example, after the entry of 28th Rajab, 932H/10th May, 1526C he inserts a carefully compiled description of Hindustan, prefaced by some reflections on his conquests, in which he reviews very rapidly the past history of the country. He expressly refers to the "Tabqat-i-Nasiri," showing that he had been studying Indian history after the conquest. He gives an account of the five contemporary Muslim princes and the two great Hindu Kingdoms of Udaipur and Vijayanagar. As he incidentally refers in the course of the passage to events

that took place two years later, such as his storming of Chanderi (January 29, 1528) and his seeing the piebald *sharak*<sup>1</sup> (*muina*) in Lucknow (March 28, 1528) we are justified in concluding that all this part was inserted in the diary towards the end of Babar's life. To us in Lucknow it is interesting to note that on March 21st, 1528, Babar records: "The same day I bathed in the river Gunti. I know not whether any water got into my ear or whether it was the effect of the air, but I became deaf in the right ear, though it was not long very painful."<sup>2</sup>

Babar's description of India is both full and accurate. Geographically it takes a great sweep from Kabul and Kashmir to Bengal and the shores of the Great Ocean. He also describes the principal hills and rivers of Northern India. He wonders that there are no canals, as there were in the countries of Central Asia which he had left behind. He describes however the two methods of well-irrigation which are practised at the present day, namely the Persian wheel and the leather bucket *charsa*. The monotony of the level plain and the ugly surroundings of the towns seem to have impressed him. He is in his element in describing the animals, birds, and aquatic life of the country. He follows up with a fairly full description of its fruits and nuts. Most of his description is obviously founded on personal observation, and his shrewd thrusts are excellent. As is inevitable in personal descriptions, he always goes back for comparison to the things that were already familiar to him in Central Asia. The mango takes the first place among the fruits of Hindustan, but adds Babar: "Such mangoes as are good are excellent. Many are eaten, but few are good of their kind."<sup>3</sup> From natural history and the seasons, Babar goes on to the mode of

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs King, ii. 216.

All references to the memoirs in future except where otherwise specified will be to Sir Lucas King's edition, of which the volume and page will be quoted.

<sup>2</sup> King, ii, 332.

<sup>3</sup> King, ii. 225.



reckoning time, and notes the improvements which he introduced into the striking of the hours on brass gongs by the *gharyalis*. The inhabitants and their houses and customs are described in very uncomplimentary terms. At the same time Babar is not blind to the advantages of India, the chief of which in his eyes are that it has abundance of gold and silver, that the climate is pleasant during the rains, and that there is abundance of labour. He contrasts the 200 workmen employed by his ancestor Timur in building a mosque, presumably in Samarkand, with the 1,491 stone-cutters he employed everyday on his public works in India.<sup>1</sup> Occasionally, as in the entry for Friday 16th Rabi I, 933H December 21, 1526 he inserts a whole letter which he wrote to Kabul, describing his fortunate escape from an attempt to poison him.<sup>2</sup> His description of his campaign against Rana Sanga of Udaipur has the dignity of a noble story candidly told, and contrasts forcibly with the pompous *farman* drafted by his Secretary, interlarded with Arabic quotations and inserted in full in the Persian copies, though it is wanting in the Turki copy used by Leyden. With unimportant gaps the diary proceeds to the end of the year 935H/September 1529C, and ends abruptly with a brief entry for the beginning of 936H, about 15½ months before Babar's death.

Such is the framework of the Diary. Let us see what manner of man it was who wrote it, and what was the setting in which he lived. Although, as I have already stated, the diary appears to have been revised in places, we can see a progressive development of Babar's character, from the boy of twelve who had to fight against his own brothers and uncles for his kingdom of Farghana in Central Asia, to the seasoned young soldier who captured his ancestral seat of Samarkand more than once, the statesman who endeavoured to stand between the flood of Uzbek aggression from the East and Persian

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<sup>1</sup> King, ii. 242-244.

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<sup>2</sup> King, ii. 267-271.

expansion from the West, the masterful ruler who established himself in Kabul and brought the mixed and unruly population of Afghanistan under his sway, and the mature warrior of imperial dreams who overthrew the Muslim Lodi Dynasty at Panipat, and after having defeated Rana Sanga of Udaipur and his mixed Rajput and Muslim followers in a Holy War, took a pride in adorning his capital at Agra with wells, gardens, roads, and public works of many kinds, until he had established some sort of order in Northern India.

Parallel with this development of his public character went on the development of his remarkable personality. As a boy he was strong and energetic but impulsive and adventurous, and gained and lost kingdoms like a young spend-thrift heir to a private estate. He prided himself on his Turki ancestry, which gave him his manliness and vigour, but he ignored his Mongol ancestry on his mother's side, although he inherited many of the virtues and vices of the Mongol race. As he grew up, his experience taught him to be more cautious even of his friends, but he never lost the character of generosity to his friends and relatives, and chivalry to women. To the end of his life he retained his fondness for sport and his love of nature, and his habit of personal investigation of her secrets. We find in his campaign against the Rajput Rana Sanga a serious and religious spirit which we miss in his earlier adventures. His belief in Muslim Shaikhs, Khwajas and saints was perhaps of a more child-like nature in his earlier life, but he never abandoned himself to superstition, and was always anxious to test any claims by his own independent observation and reason. He was always ready to learn about improved methods of warfare or administration. In Afghanistan and India he cast improved cannon through his chief gunner Ustad Ali Kuli, and employed the tactics of the Western (Rumi) Turks in chaining his guns and making strong lines of defence in order to give confidence to his army.

There was a strain of Mongol cruelty about him, but he was never revengeful. At any rate in his later campaigns he distinguishes between the tribes and individuals that had resisted his advance or shown themselves intractable or unfair, whom he chastised severely, and those who were helpless, whom he protected and pardoned. Thus he plundered the stiff-necked Hazaras and Ghilzais,<sup>1</sup> and severely punished the Bajauris,<sup>2</sup> but protected the Hindustani merchants.<sup>3</sup> As regards the latter he remarks, "When we reached Kalat the merchants of Hindustan, who had come to Kalat to traffic, had not time to escape, as our soldiers came upon them quite unexpectedly. The general opinion was, that, at a period of confusion like the present, it was fair to plunder all such as came from a foreign country. I would not acquiesce in this. I asked, what offence have these merchants committed? If for the love of God, we suffer these trifling things to escape, God will one day give us great and important benefits in return." Here his Mongol ancestry was subdued by his Islamic religion, but he was not above a shrewd understanding of the circumstances in which policy and conscience pointed in the same direction.

In regard to drink Babar's evolution is instructive. Among the Mongols, Turks and Persians, drunkenness was fairly common, and he describes the early drinking bouts at which he did not drink, with a good deal of wistful reserve. At Herat he still abstained, although the parties of pleasure threw great temptations in his way. He was then about 23 (solar) years old. He says: "Although till that time I had never been guilty of drinking wine, and from never having fallen into the practice, was ignorant of the sensations it produced, yet I had a strong lurking inclination to wander into this desert, and my heart was much disposed to cross the stream. In my boyhood I had no wish for it, and did not know its pleasures and pains.

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<sup>1</sup> King, ii. 44.

<sup>2</sup> King, ii. 82.

<sup>3</sup> King, ii. 45.

When my father at any time asked me to drink wine, I excused myself, and abstained. After my father's death, by the guardian care of Khwaja Kazi, I remained pure and undefiled. I abstained even from forbidden foods; how then was I likely to indulge in wine? Afterwards, when from the force of youthful imagination and constitutional impulse I got a desire for wine, I had nobody about my person to invite me to gratify my wishes; nay, there was not one who even suspected my longing for it. Though I had the appetite, therefore, it was difficult for me, unsolicited as I was, to indulge in such unlawful desires. It now came into my head, that as they urged me so much, and as, besides, I had come into a refined city like Heri (Herat), in which every means of heightening pleasure and gaiety was possessed in perfection, . . . . . if I did not seize the present moment, I never could expect such another. I therefore resolved to drink wine. But it struck me that, as Badi-uz-zaman Mirza was the eldest brother, and as I had declined receiving it from his hands and in his house, he might now take offence (if I took it from his younger brother). I therefore mentioned this difficulty which had occurred to me. My excuse was approved of, and I was not pressed any more at this party to drink. It was settled, however, that the next time we met at Badi-uz-zaman Mirza's, I should drink when pressed by the two Mirzas.''<sup>1</sup>

There could not be a finer analysis of motives and feelings in regard to drink than this, told by a refined experienced and introspective man, probably many years afterwards. The proposal, however, came to the ear of

<sup>1</sup> King, II. 11-13.

Mrs. Beveridge, *Babur-nama*, p. 83<sup>m</sup> takes this passage to mean that Babar first drank wine on this occasion. That is not correct: he felt the temptation but resisted it. Probably she is right in assuming from the passage to which her note is affixed (corresponding to King, i. 85) that Babar first drank wine at Samarkand and it was Bukhara wine; this must have been somewhere about 917H/1511C. about which we have a break in the diary, but we know that Babar was then in Samarkand, although not for the first time.

his faithful Amir Kasim Beg, who had been appointed master of the Household 12 years before. He sent remonstrances to the Mirzas, and the idea of urging Babar to drink at the next entertainment at Badi-uz-zaman's was entirely given up. Babar, however, does not omit to note the propensities of his courtiers. They could not drink at parties if he did not. They used to compensate themselves every month or 40 days, by shutting their doors and getting royally drunk. Babar on this occasion permitted them to drink, and this marks a further step in his progress. He now at least tolerated drinking.

We do not know when he actually began to drink himself, as there is a gap in his diary covering the long period from 914H/1508C to 925H/1519C. From an incidental reference (see note, last para. it is probable that he drank in 917H/1511C. When the diary reopens in 1519C he was in Bajaur, on the borders of India. He was then 36 (solar) years old. Now we find frequent mention of drinking parties, quite casually, as if they were an everyday occurrence.<sup>1</sup> But a more serious habit even than that of drinking wine was the habit of taking intoxicating drugs. He mentions a pleasant but highly intoxicating confection called Kamal. Although he took in the beginning only the third part of a pill, it affected him so much that he was unable to attend the council meeting of his Begs.<sup>2</sup> After that he went from bad to worse. He drank wine and spirits (araq)<sup>3</sup> and took intoxicating drugs, such as opium, almost daily, and the maajun which he took so frequently was probably composed of bhang. He was however mindful of the feelings of others. Once, not long afterwards, he was staying at a local Kazi's house. They made preparations for a jolly party, but the Kazi came to him and said: "Such a thing was never yet seen in my house; however, you are emperor and master." Though all the preparations for a convivial party were ready, they

<sup>1</sup> King, ii. 83.

<sup>2</sup> King, ii. 85.

<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Beveridge, *Babar-nama* p. 385.

**gave up their intention of drinking wine in deference to the feelings of the Kazi.<sup>1</sup>**

Later in life Babar definitely formed a resolve to give up drinking at the age of 40, but he actually carried out this resolution much later. There was a dramatic scene on Monday the 1st Jamad I, 933H/February 25, 1527C when Babar was 44 (solar) years of age. At that time he was just about to undertake his most important campaign in India, that against Rana Sanga, for which he had made careful preparations in the spirit of a Holy War. He thought of his firm resolve to make an effectual repentance. He wrote some Turki verses, in which he vowed to resist all temptation and never more to drink wine. He sent for the gold and silver goblets and cups, with all the other utensils used for drinking parties, and directed them to be broken. The fragments of the precious metals he divided among dervishes and the poor. His army and courtiers, soldiers and non-officials, to the number of nearly 300 men, made similar vows of reformation. The wine which was actually there, was poured on the ground, and a stone well and almshouse were erected on the spot to commemorate this great event. Other stocks of wine were converted into vinegar by admixture with salt. An ethical farman was issued, in which verses were quoted from the Quran, and stress was laid on self-conquest as greater than any victory. "We have directed" he says, "this holy warfare to commence with the grand warfare, the war against our passions." Such was the spirit in which, inspite of the evil prognostications of astrologers, and a feeling of depression in the army, Babar undertook his campaign against Rana Sanga and carried it through with brilliant success.<sup>2</sup> It were very much to be wished that Babar had at the same time given up the habit of taking drugs and maajuns, which greatly affected his health, and inspite of his iron constitution, brought on an early death at the age of 47 (solar) years.

<sup>1</sup> King, ii. 116.

<sup>2</sup> King, ii. 280.

A few of Babar's epigrams demand notice. Wali, a courtier of his brother Sultan Mahmud Mirza, "never approved of anything or any person but himself and his own."<sup>1</sup> This almost recalls the famous character in Tacitus, who never approved of a plan that was not his own. Of Mahmud Mirza's poetry he had no high opinion; his verses were "flat and insipid, and it were surely better not to write at all than to write in that style."<sup>2</sup> Further on he speaks of him as "a man equally devoid of courage and of modesty."<sup>3</sup> Of the saintly Khawaja Kazi he says: "He was a wonderfully bold man, *no mean proof of sanctity*. The bravest of mankind sometimes falter or tremble. He never did either."<sup>4</sup> Babar left his ancestral capital, Samarkand, in order to save Andijan, but he "lost Andijan in the process also."<sup>5</sup> At one of the tight corners in his fortunes, Babar was confronted with a cabal, whose method of seducing his troops he epigrammatically describes as "seasoning eloquence with bribes."<sup>6</sup> Of a temporising Amir, who sold his honour, he writes: "From over-anxiety to preserve this transitory and mortal lip, he left a name of eternal infamy behind him."<sup>7</sup> Once, after he was deserted by his men in a pursuit by Shaibani Khan, and he wandered as a fugitive, he had a spill from his horse, with concussion of the brain. This, however, did not stop him from riding immediately afterwards. He at length came to Dizak, where he passed from the extreme of famine to plenty. His comment is: "Enjoyment after suffering only increases the relish."<sup>8</sup> These epigrams get less pointed in the later and more rapid portions of his Diary. The less polished literary finish is a small matter, but we miss the keen human relish, physical, moral and intellectual which must have made Babar a delightful companion and an inspiring leader.

The epigrams which I have quoted will have shown that Babar was a very shrewd judge of character. His

<sup>1</sup> King, i. 50.<sup>2</sup> King, i. 44.<sup>3</sup> Ibid.<sup>4</sup> King, i. 93.<sup>5</sup> Ibid.<sup>6</sup> King, i. 94.<sup>7</sup> King, i. 134.<sup>8</sup> King, i. 158.

memoirs are full of character sketches of all sorts of people, men and women, and include even an obituary notice of a favourite hawk. Says Babar on approaching Kabul, "This same day I lost my best hawk. . . . . It pounced so unfailingly at its quarry as to make even one with so little skill as myself the most successful of fowlers"<sup>1</sup> Of his character sketches of human beings I will just quote three. The first is about a wonderful Wazir (minister) of Khurasan, whose master wanted money but was told that there was none in the treasury. The Wazir smiled. When the master asked him the reason, he said: "If your Majesty will give me full power and not deviate from my plans, I will undertake in a very short time to make the subjects comfortable, the army satisfied, and the treasury full." The Mirza agreed, and what is more, this wonderful Wazir of Khorasan made the people happy, the army contented and the treasury full.<sup>2</sup> They evidently knew finance in those days.

Of his grandmother he says: "There were few of her sex who equalled my grandmother, Isan Daulat Begam, in sense and sagacity. She was uncommonly far sighted and judicious. Many affairs of enterprise and importance were conducted by her advice. Hasan Yakub was at this time in the citadel and my mother and grandmother in the stone fort."<sup>3</sup>

Of his father he gives a very lengthy and life-like sketch, including an account of his personal appearance, his dress, his theological views, his readings, his friends and court, his wars and his ladies. Of his justice he says: "He was so strictly just that when a caravan from Khita (North China) had once reached the hill country to the east of Andijan, and the snow fell so deep as to bury it, so that of the whole only two persons escaped; he sooner received information of the occurrence than he despatched overseers to collect and take charge of the property and effects of

<sup>1</sup> King, ii, 112.

<sup>2</sup> King, i, 311.

<sup>3</sup> King, i, 42.



the people of the caravan; and wherever the heirs were not at hand, though himself in great want, his resources being exhausted, he placed the property under sequestration and preserved it untouched; till, in the course of one or two years, the heirs coming from Khurasan and Samarkand in consequence of the intimation they received, he delivered back the goods safe and untouched into their hands. His generosity was large, and so was his whole soul; he was of an excellent temper, affable, eloquent, and sweet in his conversation, yet brave withal and manly.”<sup>1</sup> The loyal son, however, is also candid, and does not suppress other sides of his character. “He was a middling shot with a bow. He had uncommon force in his fists and never hit a man whom he did not knock down. From his excessive ambition for conquest he often exchanged peace for war and friendship for hostility. In the earlier part of his life he was greatly addicted to drinking. . . . . Latterly, once or twice in the week, he indulged in a drinking party. He was a pleasant companion, and in the course of conversation used often to cite with great facility appropriate verses from the poets. . . . . In his latter days he was much addicted to the use of maajun. . . . . He played a great deal at back-gammon and sometimes at games of chance with the dice.”<sup>2</sup> One wonders how much of this description was a more or less conscious sketch by Babar of his own character.

Babar's love of nature is a special feature of his *Diary*. When he captures Nasukh in 903H/1498C, he records that it was the season when melons were ripe, and describes a special kind of melon called Ismail Shaikhi, the skin of which is yellow and puckered like shagreen leather, the seeds of which are about the size of apple pips, and the pulp four fingers thick, while the taste is remarkably delicate and agreeable.<sup>3</sup> One of the things he missed in India was fruit. But he planted vineyards and orchards, and got the best fruit trees from Kabul and Central Asia.

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<sup>1</sup> King, i. 12.

<sup>2</sup> King, i. 12-13.

<sup>3</sup> King, i. 96.

Towards the end of his life he was truly delighted with having produced excellent melons and grapes in Hindustan.<sup>1</sup> He takes considerable interest in astronomy and notices the star canopies for the first time from the top of a hill near Kabul. He and his companions are equally delighted and they recall a poet's apostrophe.<sup>2</sup> In his account of Samarkand he mentions with pride Ulugh Beg's observatory, and adds a note about other observatories in the world.<sup>3</sup> His description of all the important cities makes a point of including an account of their gardens, streams, and natural beauties. At Agra he planted several gardens and sank large wells, one of which still exists. He was fond of neatness and order, and especially criticised haphazard way in which things were planned in India. He excavated tanks and built baths, and tried to seek alleviation from the three nuisances from which we all suffer in Hindustan, namely, the heat, the strong winds, and the dust.<sup>4</sup> One November morning, on the Afghan frontier, he noticed an apple tree, and stopped to admire the autumn tints on its decaying leaves. He says: "On some branches five or six scattered leaves still remained and exhibited a beauty which a painter with all his skill might attempt in vain to portray."<sup>5</sup> This was not merely a sentimental effusion, but an expression of genuine feeling for nature in the scanty record of a very rapid march on the Indian frontiers of Afghanistan. He had an eye for the beauty of camp-fires as seen from the top of a hillock.<sup>6</sup> In describing the rhinoceros, he finds an analogy in its anatomical structure with the horse, an analogy which is fully borne out by modern science.<sup>7</sup> His early barefoot wanderings among the hill-side shepherds of Farghana<sup>8</sup> had not only inured him to the hardships of a life of nature, but had deeply impressed him with a love of nature in all her moods, gentle as well as austere.

<sup>1</sup> King, II. 416

<sup>2</sup> King, I. 212.

<sup>3</sup> King, I. 81

<sup>4</sup> King, II. 258

<sup>5</sup> King, II. 140

<sup>6</sup> King, II. 159.

<sup>7</sup> Beveridge, Babur-Nama, p. 490

<sup>8</sup> King, I. 160.

There is something wonderful in his cheerful faculty of adapting himself to different circumstances. The discipline of his army was perfect, and when circumstances demanded it, he enforced it with the utmost severity. And yet, when he and his companions were overwhelmed in a snow storm after they left Khurasan, he was willing to share their dangers with the philosophy of the Persian proverb that "death in the company of friends is a feast."<sup>1</sup> He did not take shelter from the snow if his companions had to be left to perish in the cold. He was amongst the foremost to beat down the snow and make the path for his men, and when some of his proud Begs felt a disinclination to dismount and help in trampling down the snow, his only reflection was "that this was no time for plaguing them or employing authority." He left it to every man's spirit of emulation to follow his own fine example and won through.<sup>2</sup> Iron discipline is often less potent than an understanding sympathy.

His religion was tempered with reason and common sense. His conservatism, and pride in his ancestor Timur and Timur's and Chenghiz Khan's institutions, **did** not prevent him from adopting new methods if they **were** more effective for his purposes. His love of poetry and music and song did not prevent him from speaking his mind outright if there were faults of taste that offended his sensitive nature. There must have been some sort of musical notation in his time, as he records that Ali Sher Beg "left excellent pieces of music."<sup>3</sup> He had in his youth written caustic verses, but in the month of Safar 932H/December 1525 C his heart was struck with regret that the tongue which was capable of sublimity should be degraded to satirical or vituperative verses. He abjured such lapses from refinement,<sup>4</sup> at the same time that his mind was contemplating the abjuration of the use of wine.

His reading had been very wide and had extended to

<sup>1</sup> King, ii. 21.

<sup>2</sup> King, ii. 22.

<sup>3</sup> King, ii. 301.

<sup>4</sup> King, ii. 158.

such pure gems of literature as the Quran, Firdausi's Epic, the poems of Amir Khusrau, the masnavi of Maulana Jalal Uddin Rumi, the mysticism of Hafiz and Nizami, the ethics of Sadi, and the allegories of Jami (who was almost his contemporary). Most of his studies and education could only have been possible before the age of eleven. But late in life, only eighteen months before his death, we get a picture of Babar burning the midnight oil. He was marching back from his expedition to Bengal and Bihar towards his capital. It was the month of Ramazan, and he had finished his night prayers. Shortly before midnight, a great storm arose and blew down his tents. Babar was surprised in his own tent writing, and had scarcely time to gather up his loose sheets of paper before his pavilion came down and nearly killed him. After he escaped he did not sleep, but was busily employed in drying his papers till the morning.<sup>1</sup>

Babar's chivalry to women appears from many episodes in his life, though he was practically devoid of sentimentalism. The ladies of his household usually shared his marches in his days of adventure, and he often gave up his own tent to his mother when ampler accommodation failed. In the days of his prosperity in India he remembered all his aunts and cousins far and near and sent costly presents to each one by name.<sup>2</sup> More than one of his marriages was an affair of arrangement, but his wife Masuma fell genuinely in love with him and he with her.<sup>3</sup> Afghan tradition mentions a romantic episode ending in Babar's love match with a Yusufzai princess, and though Babar with his usual avoidance of sentimentality merely refers to the fact, we have no reason to reject the Afghan tradition, as it is in perfect consonance with all that is known of the Lady Mubarika.<sup>4</sup> He happened to see her in disguise and fell in love with her. When he married her, her whole tribe came into favour. He inserts in his

<sup>1</sup> King, i. 408.

<sup>2</sup> Gul Badan Begam's *Humayun Nama* gives the details.

<sup>3</sup> King, ii. 16 and i. 34.

<sup>4</sup> King, ii. 87n.

Diary letters to and from his wife Maham. After defeating Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat he bestows a Jagir of seven lakhs on the defeated Sultan's mother and gives her a palace to live in,<sup>1</sup> although the object of his generosity showed her ingratitude by trying afterwards to poison him.<sup>2</sup> We know from the later history of Babar's descendants in India, and from records left by Imperial ladies like Gulbadan Begam, what an important part women played in the Mughal Empire. If only the Mughals had been able to purify their home life by avoidance of indiscriminate and polygamous marriages, the history of Mughal India might have been entirely different.

What did Babar do for India and how did it affect his personality? When he crossed the river Indus in his final expedition, he had no more than 12,000 persons, good and bad, servants and no servants, combatants and non-combatants.<sup>3</sup> But Babar, by his persistence, perseverance, and self-confidence, carried all before him. The state of India in December, 1525 was one which will repay very close study. The old Afghan dynasties which had ruled over Northern India had broken up into petty warring principalities, and their men had degenerated, partly under the influence of climate and partly because they relaxed their hold on the institutions and character which they had brought with them. The Southern Muslim rulers, Turki or Persian, Abyssinian or mixed Indian, were in no better state. The only two Hindu powers of note, viz. Udaipur in Rajputana and Vijayanagar in the Deccan, though strong, full of martial ardour, and capable of much organisation, were no match for the Muslims even in their disorganised state, as subsequent events showed. The Muslims commanded the results of advanced methods in warfare and national organisation, and were not cut off from world movements and world experiences. The anarchy that existed in the country could only be put

<sup>1</sup> King, ii. 192.<sup>2</sup> King, ii. 268.<sup>3</sup> King, ii. 160.

down by a strong government, acting with a sense of justice and upholding its own standards with firmness and wisdom. Babar came to supply these needs, and although his authority was soon swept away under his son Humayun, the seeds which he had sown produced a good harvest, indirectly through Sher Shah's administration, and directly through the genius of Babar's grandson Akbar.

It is not within our province here to discuss the causes of decay that attacked the later Mughal Empire. But Babar's own period is most instructive not only in the history of India but in the general history of the world. Western and Central Europe were then working out a religious revolution, which also meant a political revolution. The Western Turks were still in their prime, and were acting as links between Europe and Asia. Their institutions indirectly supplied the pattern for Persia's re-organisation. Persia's religious revolution, under the Safavid dynasty opened up the doors of one of the mansions in the House of Islam. The age-long conflict of Persian, Turkish, and Mongol civilisations in Central Asia kindled forces whose waves engulfed India in Central Asian Politics. If any Indian dreams of an isolated India, history does not support him.

I wish that it were possible to discuss Babar's revenue system. It is impossible to dismiss it with the remark that he had no revenue system. The figures he gives<sup>1</sup> in his "particular and detailed statement" are obviously an abstract by provinces of careful registers and accounts maintained by his Treasury. They are not merely in round sums, but descend in one case to the half of a Tanka. In summing up, he says that the total revenues of the countries under his dominion from Behreh to Bihar was fifty two crores, presumably of Tankas. This does not help us much for comparison. We can however put together from the detailed statement figures for the tracts

<sup>1</sup> King, ii. 244-245.

which roughly represent our modern United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. I work them out to about 15 to 16 crores of Tankas. The question is, how much do these Tankas or Dams represent in modern currency? I have not been able to go into this question in detail, but if Sir Lucas King's estimate is correct, that 52 crores represent £1,300,000, then 15 crores for our modern United Provinces would work out only to £375,000 or 56½ lakhs of rupees. If so, the revenue was very light, but we have no figures for the cultivated area or the population. To me it is incredible that Babar, who fixed accurate measures of length and made some changes in indicating accurate measures of time in India, would have neglected a systematic examination of his revenue, or left it to be assessed in haphazard fashion. We can only regret that we have no knowledge of his revenue organisation.

To Babar himself India opened out a whole new world. His character was completely changed after he actually mixed himself up with the tangled politics and the intriguing atmosphere of Lodi and Afghan families and the jarring Hindu principalities of India. The frank outspoken soldier of fortune, who disliked hypocrisy and scorned treachery or meanness, becomes the great Ruler, who applies to himself the titles of Nawab,<sup>1</sup> Khalifa<sup>2</sup> and Ghazi.<sup>3</sup> His Diary also runs less like a gentle crystal stream of the hills, and flows more turbid like a lazy river of the plains. His storms and passions have abated, but so have his fiery zeal and his infectious gaiety. He has given up intoxicating drinks, but has fallen more and more deeply into the drug habit, which kills more surely if more slowly. His son Humayun, on whom at the age of eighteen he had conferred the highest commands and the most responsible administrative positions, was covetous enough to seize his treasure at Delhi while Babar was at Agra.<sup>4</sup> Babar never expected such conduct

<sup>1</sup> King, ii. 291.

<sup>2</sup> King, ii. 292.

<sup>3</sup> King, ii. 307.

<sup>4</sup> King, ii. 315.

from him, was extremely hurt, and wrote to him strongly. Nor does his letter to Humayun in 935H/1528C, when Humayun was in Afghanistan, show that Babar was satisfied with Humayun's conduct as a wise ruler or a dutiful son or a man of refined or accurate learning.<sup>1</sup> The canker was already working at the heart.

It is true that Babar builds roads and post-houses (his Grand Trunk road was from Agra to Kabul)<sup>2</sup> and fixes the length of the Kos, but the presents of the Tipchak<sup>3</sup> horses get less and less common, and we miss the free parties of jolly companions and the old time parries and thrusts of wit and poetry. Instead we have a great garden party, with a pavilion provided with Khas tattis in the month of December (*sic*) for coolness, we have the large and formal darbar of Kizilbash, Uzbek and Hindu representatives seated at regular intervals,—a medley without unity. There is much show of gold and silver and fine raiment. There are fights of beasts and matches of wrestlers and Hindustani jugglers and tumblers, as well as the performances of paturyas (dancing girls).<sup>4</sup> Babar, though he has not given up riding on horse-back, now moves about in a Takht-i-rawan<sup>5</sup> (litter or palki), or uses boats. He suffers from painful boils and from fever, although he never gives in, and keeps moving about, hardly ever celebrating Id in the same place for two years in succession. It is quite possible that his disappointment with his son Humayun may have given rise to the conspiracy among his nobles to set aside Humayun from the succession, but Babar nips all such conspiracies in the bud, and finally gives his very life for his son. In the ties of friendship and family, he is never remiss, and we should like to believe that the story of his last supreme sacrifice for his son is psychologically true.

<sup>1</sup> King, ii. 351-355.

<sup>2</sup> King, ii. 357.

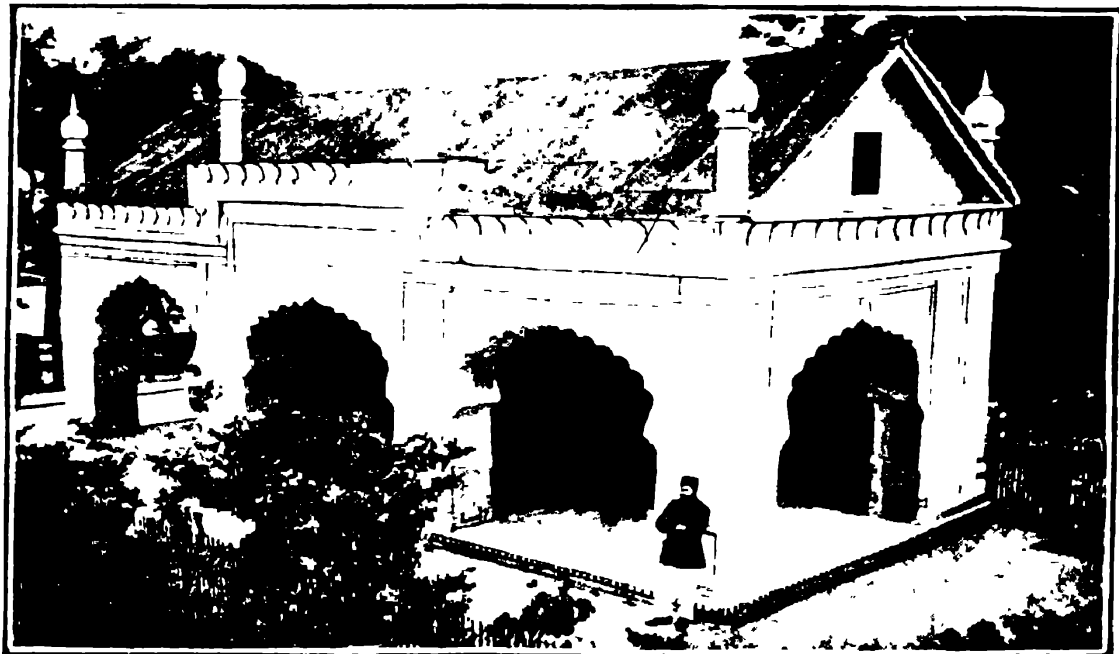
<sup>3</sup> Tipchak or Tipuchaq in Turki denotes quality or training in a horse, rather than race, but no doubt these horses were imported from or through Kabul. See Beveridge, *Babur-nama*, p. 38 n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> King, ii. 358-361.

<sup>5</sup> King, ii. 377.



Thus lived and died a brave and generous man. His hardy life fitted in with his love of nature. His adventures, failures, and successes, never dried up the milk of human kindness in him. His reading was refined by what he learnt from life. The sincerity of his soul, in strength and weakness, shines from every page of his self-revealing record.



Babar's Garden and Grave at Kabul.



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**By W. H. Moreland**

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## THE AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS OF AKBAR'S EMPIRE.

BY W. H. MORELAND.

[N this paper I attempt to provide a method of interpreting the statistics included in Abul Fazl's *Account of the XII Sūbas*, so as to render this large body of figures available for the social and economic historian. So far as I know, this task has not previously been performed, or at least no general results have been published. Various writers have indeed extracted and discussed the figures relating to particular tracts of country, but this process must, I fear, be condemned as illegitimate: errors have unfortunately been introduced in the process of transcription, and anyone who takes a few figures without subjecting them to close criticism is as likely as not to hit on some of these errors, which are by no means always obvious on the face of the record. Before any of the figures can be used, it is necessary to take a large number of them into consideration, and to devise methods by which material errors can be eliminated; but if such methods can be found, they will be of general applicability, and will thus serve as a key to unlock what from the outside looks like a treasure-house, though until the key has been found speculation as to the value of the treasure is obviously out of place. The steps in this investigation are as follows:—

- i. Determination of the precise significance of the figures.
- ii. Selection of methods for eliminating errors.

When these tasks have been accomplished, the enquirer has then

- iii. to work out the comparative geography of the tract in which he is interested ;
- iv. to compare the figures with those of the corresponding modern administrative areas ; and
- v. to draw his conclusions from the figures so obtained.

### 1. *The Significance of the Statistics.*

The statistics are given in the following manner. At the end of the description of each Sūba or province, a paragraph states the number of sarkārs and parganas (or mahals), the area (for regulation provinces only), the revenue, the assignments, and the strength of the local forces. This paragraph is followed by similar details for each pargana, arranged and totalled by sarkārs, the totals being placed at the head of the tables, not as we should place them at the foot. There is no formal statement to show what the figures for area and revenue represent, and we have to deduce this information from the language used in this and other parts of Abul Fazl's work. Much of this language has been examined in the paper by Mr. Yusuf Ali and myself in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society for January, 1918, and the present investigation starts from the conclusions there reached. It has been shown that area-figures are given only for those parts of the Empire where the *zabt* or regulation-system of assessment had been introduced. This system was based on returns prepared locally for each harvest, showing for each village the area then under crops, and the revenue due from that area at the prescribed assessment-rates. Seeing that we know these returns to have been prepared, and that the detailed account of the system shows no other returns of areas which could be utilized for such statistics, the presumption is that the statistics are based on the returns in question, just as the agricultural statistics now furnished to Parliament are based on the returns submitted by District Officers in India. Akbar's Revenue Department had these figures: we do not know that it had

any other figures of the kind : and it is *a priori* probable that it used the figures which we know were in its possession. This presumption is supported by the precise language in which the statistics themselves are recorded as is shown in the following paragraphs.

*Area.*—Areas are recorded, as stated above, only for the *zabti* Sūbas. In each Sūba where areas are recorded, the heading describes the figures as *zamīn-i paimūdah*. The process of preparing the returns of areas under crop was known by the technical term *paimāish*, as has been explained in the paper already quoted : either therefore the areas in the statistics came from the assessment returns, or there were two different processes known in the revenue department as *paimāish*. The former view is much more probable than the latter.

The headings for the Sūbas of Bihar and Allahabad, which were only partially *zabti*, bear out the same view. The material portion of the heading for Bihar runs as follows: "Seven sarkārs and 199 parganas. Revenue (*jama*) 22,19,19,404½ dāms. Included in this, *zabti*, 138 [parganas]: *zamīn-i paimūdah*, 24,44,120 bighas; *zar-i-ān* [its revenue], 17,26,81,774 dāms. 61 parganas, 4,22,37,630½ dāms." Part of the Sūba was *zabti*, and both area and revenue are given for that part : no area is given for the parganas which were not *zabti*. The heading for Allahabad draws precisely the same distinction, and gives areas for the *zabti* parganas, but not for the rest of the Sūba.

So far then as areas are concerned, we have to choose between two hypotheses: (a) that the areas given were drawn from the assessment returns, or (b) that apart from these returns, there was some other way of getting area figures, which was employed in all the *zabti* tracts, but in no other part of the Empire, and which is nowhere referred to in the detailed account of the system. It appears to me to be reasonable to act on the former hypothesis until some evidence is produced in favour of the latter.



*Revenue.*—As regards the figures for revenue, the following questions arise :—

- (a) Do the statistics show total revenue or only revenue from the land ?
- (b) Does the land revenue include or exclude the assignments ?
- (c) Does it represent the demand or the collections ?
- (d) Does it represent a theoretical or an actual demand ?

(a). The revenue is denoted in the headings of all the *zabti* Sūbas by the word *jama*, which in the description of the revenue-system, is used consistently to denote land-revenue, sometimes the demand on the individual cultivator, and sometimes the demand on the village or some larger area. The use of this word therefore indicates that the figures denote the land-revenue

Miscellaneous revenue is referred to in two places in the statistics of *zabti* tracts. (1) In the heading of Sūba Gujarat, port-dues are stated separately from the *jama*: the dues are detailed (in *mahmūdīs*, not *dāms*) in a separate table of the statistics. (2) In Sūba Lahore, the large revenue paid by Atak Benares in Sind-Sagar is stated in a note to consist of ferry receipts. Assuming a uniform system of compilation—and the statistics bear strong evidence of uniformity on their face—we should expect that if other items of miscellaneous revenue had been included, they would have been specified in the same way.<sup>1</sup>

If miscellaneous revenue were generally included, we should expect it to be most important of the various administrative centres, which would then show a larger revenue than the area would warrant. This can be tested by striking the revenue-rates per bigha: if the proportion of miscellaneous revenue were greater at the headquarters of a *sarkār* than in the outlying *parganas*, the revenue-rate

<sup>1</sup> Miscellaneous revenue is specified in several *mahals* in Sūba Bengal, but the Bengal revenue-system was entirely different from that of the regulation-tracts, and no inference can be drawn from one to the other.

for the headquarters pargana would come out greater than the average rate for the sarkār. I have applied this test for 29 sarkārs from Bihar to Delhi: in 13 the headquarters rate is higher, in 13 it is lower, and in 3 it is identical, just such proportions as would be expected if no such disturbing cause were at work. If therefore miscellaneous revenue is included in the figures, its proportion to land revenue is at any rate not sufficient to affect the revenue rates.

These considerations—the language used, the specific mention of port and ferry dues, and the absence of any traceable effect on the revenue rates of sarkār-headquarters—appear to me to support strongly the presumption that the statistics were prepared from the assessment returns, and show the land revenue, not the total revenue from all sources.

(b). Oldham in his *Memoir of the Ghazipur District* (p. 82) adds the sums entered as assignments of revenue (*suyurghāl*) to the *jama* in order to obtain the full demand on the parganas. The heading for Sūba Bihar, the first of the *zabti* Sūbas, after giving the *jama*, goes on “*Az ān miyān 22,72,147 dam suyurghāl*,” and the same phrase, or the variant *az ān jumla*, is used in the headings of all the other *zabti* Sūbas. These phrases can only mean “included in the total,” and I think therefore that Oldham was certainly mistaken, and that the full demand is uniformly shown as *jama*, the assignments made out of it being then specified separately.

(c). The figures might in theory represent either demand or collections. The word *jama*, by which they are described, means in other passages demand. If the figures represented collections, we should have to believe that in a sarkār such as Garha (in Malwa), or Ratanbhor (in Ajmer), many parganas had paid up in even thousands or even lakhs of dāms, a very unlikely thing; or that while sarkār Bikaner in Ajmer had paid the full revenue, no details of the pargana figures could be given. In sarkār Kumaun (Delhi), it is stated that five mahals are unassessed

(that is, the demand had not been fixed), and that the remaining 16 pay so much. These indications appear to me to be in accordance with the presumption that the statistics are based on the assessment-returns, which certainly showed demand and not collections.

(d). The question whether the demand was theoretical or actual is raised in Irvine's note on a passage of Manucci (Vol. II, p. 413), where he remarks that "we do not know what these figures represent: whether (1) a standard assessment (*jama-i kāmil*), (2) the demand of some particular year (*jama-i wājib*), or (3) the actual collection (*jama-i wusūl*).'" I have just indicated the reasons for ruling out the third alternative: I do not think the question between the first and second really arises, because under the *zabti* system there was no such thing as a standard assessment. There were standard rates, which were applied to the varying areas of each successive season, but there is no trace in Abul Fazl of anything like a standard demand, which would indeed be entirely incompatible with the system as described by him. The distinction seems to me to be relevant only to a later phase of revenue administration, and I think Mr. Irvine's question would have surprised the revenue authorities in the time of Akbar.

It appears then to be reasonable to take the figures of revenue as indicating the amount which the administration hoped to collect, that is the demand for the year as ascertained by the system of assessment in force.

*Period.*—The considerations which have been put forward appear to me to afford substantial support to the hypothesis, in itself probable, that Abul Fazl's statistics were drawn from the seasonal assessment returns. It remains to determine the period to which they relate, a point on which Abul Fazl makes no formal statement. I wish there were grounds for thinking that the returns had been averaged for a series of years, as this would give a really satisfactory basis for comparison with figures for later periods, but I

can find no hint anywhere of averages having been struck for this purpose. Abul Fazl set out to give an up-to-date description of the Empire; and I think it is more reasonable to suppose that he gave the latest figures available; the idea of using averages for such a purpose<sup>1</sup> would require a greater advance in statistical methods than we have any reason to think had been made by Akbar's administration. The opening words of the 'Account of the XII Sūbas' are "In the fortieth Ilāhi year, 2,737 qasbas included in 105 sarkārs were recorded." These words appear to me to indicate that the Account was prepared on the basis of the statistics for that year. Blochmann tells us in the life of Abul Fazl prefixed to his translation (p. xxx) that the Āin was completed in the 42nd Ilāhi, though some additions were made subsequently to include later acquisitions; it is scarcely conceivable that complete returns for the 41st year could have been ready in time for utilisation in writing this long Account, and the probabilities point to the conclusion that the materials relate to the year which is mentioned in the opening words. So far as I can find, the chroniclers do not tell us anything indicating that the 40th Ilāhi was seriously abnormal from the agricultural point of view. The *Zubdatu-t Tawārikh* (Elliot's *History*, vi. 193) states that "during 1004 H. there was a scarcity of rain throughout the whole of Hindustan," while the *Akbar-nama* (*idem*, p. 94) says there was little rain in 41 Ilāhi. These statements must refer to the same period, that is to the months common to the two years named. The year 1004 H. ran from August 1595 to August 1596, while 41 Ilāhi began in March 1596 and thus the disastrous failure was that of the rains of 1596, and could not have affected the statistics of 40 Ilāhi.

I suggest therefore that the statistics of area and

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<sup>1</sup> It is true that averages were struck in order to determine the final assessment-rates, but we must distinguish between their use for such a definite purpose, and for the more general object of indicating the fiscal condition of the Empire

revenue under discussion were most probably based on the assessment returns of a single year very shortly before the Āin was completed, and show the area cropped in that year and the demand on that area, calculated on the *zabti* or regulation system of assessment. The year is probably the 40th Ilāhi, running from March 1595, and there is no reason to think that it was highly abnormal. The figures would thus relate to a year which was neither so good nor so bad as to attract the attention of the chroniclers. I may have overestimated the speed at which the revenue department worked, but in any case I think the figures must be later than 1590, and I can find no mention of abnormal seasons between 1590 and 1596. We do not know enough about the figures to justify any precise or detailed comparison, but we can use them as representing roughly something about the standard of cultivation reached in the latter part of Akbar's reign, and before the occurrence of the famine which the chroniclers have recorded.

### *II. Elimination of Errors.*

I now turn to the second stage of the investigation, the measures to be taken to detect and eliminate the errors which have crept into the statistics. One way of approaching this task would be to prepare the much-wanted standard text of the Āin, but that would need resources and skill which I do not command, and my purpose is to make the best of the figures which we possess as the result of Blochmann's work. I have not therefore examined the available MSS. in detail. To do so, when their relative authority has not been determined by experts, would simply mean picking out the readings which seem reasonable, and at the present stage this would involve arguing in a circle. The success of my suggestions must for the present be judged from their application.

The complete history of the text is, I think, not fully known—at any rate I do not know it. In the MSS. which I have seen, the statistics are expressed in words (not

figures), crowded into the inadequate spaces given by cross-ruling of lines and columns; to my mind this arrangement offers very great opportunities of error to the inexperienced or careless transcriber. In the printed text the words have been converted into Arabic figures, and the Indian printer has had opportunities of his own: while it may be added that the English figures in the Calcutta translation contain some serious discrepancies when compared with the printed Persian version. It is impossible therefore to accept the printed statistics as uniformly accurate: it is certain that some of the figures must differ from the sixteenth-century originals, and it is possible that several forms of error may have to be reckoned with. So far as I can judge, the chief dangers are (a) alteration of individual digits, (b) mis-alignment, bringing the figures opposite to a pargana to which they do not relate, and (c) the insertion of an extra digit or the omission of one which should appear.

(a). Change of a digit of course varies in importance with its position. Parganas were of all sizes, but as a rule there are five or six digits for area, and six or seven for revenue. In dealing with areas consisting of a fairly large number of parganas, it is entirely legitimate to smooth these figures to the nearest thousand in the case of areas, and the nearest ten-thousand in the case of revenue, and we thus get rid of more than half the potential errors of this class. When the error is in one of the left-hand digits, it will be detected, if really important, by the test to be described below: if of smaller magnitude, it will not materially affect the aggregate of a large group of parganas. To take an instance, suppose a pargana is entered as containing 10,000 instead of 20,000 bighas: the error is so large as to vitiate any argument about that particular pargana, but when we include that pargana in a tract of a million bighas, we thereby introduce into the total an error of only one per cent, and since these errors are fortuitous, some of them will probably cancel. The first

condition then to be observed in dealing with these figures is to handle them in relatively large masses, and not pargana by pargana: the larger the masses, the smaller will be the proportion of error, and if we deal with present-day districts as units it is improbable that the error from this source will ever rise to a really dangerous proportion.

(b). Mis-alignment is a cause of so much trouble in vernacular statistical work at the present day that I fear it must be reckoned with in the case of the figures under consideration. The possibility makes it very dangerous to draw conclusions regarding a single pargana, because the figures standing opposite to it may belong to the pargana next below it or above it in the list. When however we deal with a large area like a district, we find that as a rule the majority of the parganas of a particular sarkār are included in it, and in that case mis-alignment is almost immaterial: we have got most of the right figures to give the required total though they stand opposite the wrong parganas. The effect of mis-alignment is in that case occasional: when one or two parganas pass into a separate group from their neighbours, they may carry some of their neighbours' figures instead of their own, and the importance of the error so introduced varies inversely with the size of the group they enter. Here again therefore it is desirable to handle the material in as large masses as possible, because the larger the mass the smaller will be the proportionate error arising from the cause.

(c). Dropping or adding a digit is a fairly common feature of the copying of Persian statistics, and the dot which stands for a cypher is, in my experience, the greatest danger of all, the right-hand cypher being frequently dropped, and a run of cyphers being either increased or decreased by one.<sup>1</sup> The magnitude of the errors due to

<sup>1</sup> This remark applies directly only to statistics expressed in figures, but Persian methods of stating numbers in words may lead to the same results. In one case I found the entry *haftād hazār yak biḡha* so written that I was doubtful if it really meant 7,001, or 70,001, or 700,001.

this cause, which may increase or decrease a particular entry ten-fold, is much greater than that caused by changing a digit, or by mis-alignment of figures, and it is fortunate that its occurrence can be detected almost with certainty by the simple process of striking the average revenue rate per bigha. We know the rates charged on each crop in each pargana, and consequently we know that the average rate on the pargana must fall within certain limits set by the crop-rates. If then the average rate of a pargana calculated from the statistics falls outside the limits set by the crop-rates, it is certain (not merely probable), that either there is a large error in the figures or that the assessment on this particular pargana was made otherwise than on the prescribed rates. The latter alternative is quite possible as has been shown in the previous paper (*Journal R.A.S.* for January 1918, pp. 33-36), but it is often ruled out by the magnitude of the error, which indeed serves to indicate its origin. The working of this test can best be shown by an example, and for this purpose I take the sarkār of Ghazipur in Sūba Allahabad: it is a simple case and brings out the point clearly. The text says that the sarkār contained 288,770-7 bighas, and paid 13,431,308 dāms, giving an average rate of 47 dāms per bigha. The pargana figures give, when added together, totals of 288,207-10 bighas and 19,709,622 dāms: the area figures are therefore probably affected only by minor errors, while there is a serious discrepancy of about 6 million dāms in the revenue.

The average rate of 47 dāms is reasonable. There was one dastūr for the entire sarkār, and the crop rates varied from 14 dāms for melons to 268 dāms for pān: the staple crops of the tract were probably barley (47 dāms), gram (41), rice (49), and small millets (averaging about 26), with some sugarcane (123), wheat (65), and perhaps poppy (115). It is certain that the rate for a pargana could not fall below 15 (if entirely cropped with melons) or rise above 268 (if entirely cropped with pān), and for



practical purposes we may take 30 and 80 as the limits within which the rate for a pargana in this sarkār might be expected to fall. The actual statistics, smoothed as suggested,<sup>1</sup> and the rates yielded by them, are shown in the following table.

<i>Pargana.</i>	<i>Area.</i>	<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Rate.</i>
	<i>Bighas · 000 omitted. Dāms : 000 omitted. Dāms per bigha.</i>		
Balia ..	.. 28	1,250	45
Pachotar ..	.. 13·7	6,980	509
Bilhabas ..	.. 12·3	650	53
Bahriabad ..	.. 7	350	50
Bhalaech ..	.. 2·3	110	48
Chausa ..	.. 15·6	790	51
Dehba ..	.. 2·8	130	46
Saiyyidpur Namdi ..	.. 26	1,250	48
Zahurabad ..	.. 13·8	660	48
Ghazipur ..	.. 12·3	570	46
Kariyat Pali ..	.. 1·4	75	53
Kopachhit ..	.. 19	940	49
Gandha ..	.. 10	500	50
Karenda ..	.. 6·2	290	47
Lakhner ..	.. 2·9	130	45
Madan Benares ..	.. 67	2,760	41
Muhammabad, etc.	49	2,260	46

It will be seen that in all cases except Pachotar (the second in the list), the rates are reasonable, ranging from 41 to 53 dāms a bigha, which is what the sarkār would be expected to yield. Pachotar is shown as paying ten times the average rate, or over twelve rupees a bigha, which is of course impossible. The fact that the error is approximately tenfold at once suggests that either there is a digit too few in the area or there is a digit too many in the revenue, and the great discrepancy in the sarkār revenue suggests that the latter is the case. The revenue of Pachotar is entered as 6,982,040, much greater than that of any other pargana in the sarkār: if we cut out one of the digits, a cypher for preference, and take it as 698,204,

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<sup>1</sup> It happens that several of the parganas in this sarkār are exceptionally small, and in such cases I have given an additional digit as a precaution.

or as 698,240 (a fair figure for the sarkār), the rate works out at 51, and the total revenue of the sarkār comes to about 13,418,800, as compared with the text total of 13,431,308. In this case the correction is probable to the verge of practical certainty: by making it we get a close approximation to the true area and revenue of the sarkār as a whole, and while the risk of mis-alignment warns us against arguing about the condition of individual parganas, we can take a group of them for comparison with reasonable confidence that we are not carrying over errors of really serious magnitude.

This is as I have said a simple case: matters are not always so clear, but the number of instances in which there is an apparent ten-fold error in the rate is sufficient to show the value of the test. It would fail only if a copyist had made the same mistake in the area and the revenue of a single pargana; if, for instance, he added a digit to both entries, the rate would come out right though the figures were wrong. This contingency is, however, very remote: in Ghazipur we have found one such error in 34 entries, and the proportion is not very different throughout; it would be a very rare accident indeed if two such errors were made in a single line, and the possibility may, I think, be regarded as negligible in practice.

The same test will, as has been mentioned above, reveal large mistakes in left-hand digits: if, for instance, 10,000 was written for 80,000, the result would be immediately apparent when rates had been struck; but as a matter of fact I have found scarcely any instances of this sort, and I have no doubt as the result of working over all the figures in question that an alteration in the number of digits has been more frequent than a material alteration in the digits themselves.

The conclusion I offer is then that by the systematic application of this rate-test<sup>1</sup> we can detect nearly all the

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<sup>1</sup> I drew attention to the potential value of this test in an article on p 44 of the *Indian Journal of Economics* for January 1916. At that time I was under the

really great errors which have crept into the statistics: that we can often arrive by the same means at the approximately correct figure; and that we can thus determine roughly the area cropped and the revenue paid in large parts of India in some not very abnormal year—probably the 40th Ilahi—just before the end of the sixteenth century. The risk of mis-alignment prevents definite conclusions being drawn from the figures for single parganas, and to diminish the effect of errors due to this and other causes it is desirable to deal with the largest possible areas—the modern district, or a group of districts being, so far as my experience goes, a satisfactory unit for this purpose.

### III *The Comparative Geography.*

I proceed to illustrate the methods I have indicated by examining the figures for the two extremities of the United Provinces. In this case the comparative geography has been worked out by Elliot (*Races of the N.W.P.* ii., 83), while subsequent changes in the parganas are indicated in the *District Gazetteers*. we know therefore where Akbar's parganas lay, and the problem is to find modern administrative areas made up of complete parganas of the earlier period, so that Abul Fazl's figures can be compared with the statistics of the present time. In this operation, the large rivers can be taken as guiding lines, because they usually served as boundaries in Akbar's time as well as at the present day, and the most serious difficulties occur in the rare cases where a pargana lay on both sides of a river, so that portions of it belong to two or more districts, the way in which they can be used can best be explained by an example. On the north-west of the Provinces, I start with the district of Saharanpur,

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impression that it had not been suggested before, but I have since noticed that it had been occasionally used by Mr H. R. Nevill, M.R.A.S., in the *District Gazetteers* of the United Provinces, and I take this opportunity of acknowledging his claims to its first publication.

lying between the Ganges and the Jumna, and abutting to the north on the unculturable Siwalik Hills, so that three out of the four boundaries are permanent features not crossed by any of Akbar's parganas. The fourth or southern boundary of this district is unfortunately so crossed, and I cannot say what portions of Akbar's parganas should be assigned to it. I therefore take Saharanpur and the adjoining district of Muzaffarnagar as a single block, bounded on three sides as described above, while on the south the line between this block and Meerut coincides with boundaries established in Akbar's time, which are clear, subject to a possible error of about 20,000 bighas in a total of about 3,400,000 bighas, or less than one per cent.

The southern boundary of the Meerut district is also easily traced, so that this district forms a separate block. A question arises regarding the course of the Ganges in this district; if I have made a mistake in regard to it, there may be two errors in the total, as the one mentioned under Muzaffarnagar affects Meerut also. The two taken together may affect the Meerut area by not more than four per cent, and it is equally possible that they cancel.

The southern boundary of Bulandshahr, the next district, stands out clearly, and I can trace no source of material error in working out its statistics. Beyond it we come to Aligarh, where the rivers begin to fail us: a clear-cut block is however formed by taking three tahsils of Muttra and one of Etah as well as all of Aligarh, and there is no reason to suspect any serious error in regard to its boundaries.

After Aligarh we get into difficulties. The old pargana of Agra crossed the Jumna the Ganges has changed its course seriously in Etah, and a little further down the large pargana of Shamsabad crossed it and intruded far into what is now Rohilkhand, while the pargana-system of the Agra and Etawah districts has been wholly obliterated in modern times. It is possible however to trace the

remainder of the Etah district, after which I break off, and start elsewhere.

The same procedure has been followed in regard to the remaining areas dealt with in this paper, the start being in each case made from a well-ascertained base and the rivers used as guiding lines. In the result I am able to present definite figures for (1) the north-western plains nearly down to a line joining Agra and Bareilly; and (2) the east of the provinces, north of the Ganges, nearly as far as a line joining Allahabad and Fyzabad. The first tract is the most prosperous and productive part of the province; most of the second is now a typically congested area, while the remainder is known to have been transformed during the nineteenth century. There are thus clearly marked features for comparison with the conditions prevailing under Akbar.

#### *IV. Comparison of Areas.*

A few details have still to be considered before the actual figures are presented. Abul Fazl's statistics show the 'gross cropped area' of the year, that is to say, the totals returned as cropped in the kharif and rabi seasons. The lists of crops given by him show that what are now classed as hot-weather, or extra, crops, were returned and assessed along with the rabi, so that his figures cover all the three seasons known to modern statistics; they have therefore to be compared with the gross cropped area of the present day, not with the net cropped, or cultivated area, which is a modern statistical refinement. The "normal" gross cropped areas have not, I think, been published for the United Provinces, but they can be deduced with a trifling error from the figures given in the annual *Season and Crop Reports*; they have then to be converted from acres into Akbar's bighas so as to compare directly with the earliest figures.

The discussion of the size of Akbar's bigha seems to have rested where it was left by Prinsep (*Useful Tables*, I.

88), and Elliot (*Races of the N.W.P.*, ii., 36, 177). In that discussion I think there was a certain failure to distinguish between Akbar's intentions and the results achieved in practice. No one who reads Abul Fazl's precise statements on the subject can doubt that the *gaz* was meant to be 41 'fingers,' or 30.75 inches, and that consequently the bigha of 3,600 square *gaz* was meant to be an area approximately equal to 0.54 of an acre. On the other hand, no one who has had to rely on country-made measuring instruments in large numbers will doubt that those used by Akbar's revenue staff, as a matter of fact, varied considerably in length. This variation may not have been entirely due to accident, for Abul Fazl mentions that the measuring rope used before Akbar's reforms lent itself to fraud, and surveyors who had benefited by this would naturally arrange to continue their profits when Akbar substituted a rod for a rope. Accident alone might however produce a considerable error in the size of a bigha. We are not told the precise length of the rod used: if we suppose it was meant to be 3 *gaz* or 92.25 inches—a fairly convenient size, giving 20 rods as the side of a bigha—an error of six inches in its length would bring the bigha almost to the size at which it was eventually fixed by the British Government, and such an error would be detected only by careful inspection of the rods used. I suggest as the most probable explanation of the observed facts, that under Akbar the bigha averaged something near the standard fixed by him, though it doubtless varied from place to place with the idiosyncrasies of the rod-makers and of the men employed on measurement, and that as the administration decayed in efficiency the bigha tended to increase in size, not uniformly, but in accordance with the extent to which the surveyors employed in different localities found it profitable to stand in with the cultivators. In this way would be produced the diversities found to exist early in the nineteenth century, when the bigha might measure anything from 2,500 to over 3,000 square

yards. Any factor used for conversion must in such a case be approximate, but as we are dealing with a period before administrative decay had set in, I assume that the average bigha had not "grown" much beyond its original size, and I take it at 0.55 of the acre, a figure which simplifies the arithmetic. The probable error so introduced is small compared with the actual differences which we are about to consider.

The detailed calculations involved in the comparison are given in the Appendix. The broad results are summarised in the following table :—

<i>Tract.</i>	<i>Approximate area</i>		<i>Area normally</i>
	<i>cropped under</i>	<i>cropped at</i>	
	<i>Akbar.</i>	<i>present.</i>	
	<i>Bighas</i>	<i>Bighas</i>	
	(000 omitted).	(000 omitted).	
<i>A. Western</i>			
1. Upper duāb ..	10,231,	12,246,	Increase below 25 per cent.
2. Rohilkhand ..	4,668,	6,775,	Increase below 50 per cent.
<i>B. Eastern</i>			
3. Ganges-Gogra duāb ..	1,401,	7,510,	Increase more than five-fold.
4. North of Gogra ; probable.	208,	8,000,	Increase nearly 40-fold.
ditto ; alternative.	462,	8,000,	Increase 17-fold.

It is at once obvious that the figures indicate a much greater change in the East than in the West ; this observation becomes more significant when the statistics are examined in somewhat greater detail, but it is desirable to state it at the outset, because it is based on large compact areas in which errors due to mistaken boundaries become negligible, and we must either accept the broad conclusion or deny that the area figures possess any value for comparative purposes.

Turning to details, the figures for the Upper duāb stand as follows :—

(000 omitted)

*Akbar's Area. Present Area.*

Saharanpur and ) Muzaffarnagar }	..	3,428,	3,640,	Increase slight.
Meerut ..	..	2,310,	2,600,	Increase slight.
Bulandshahr ..	..	1,271,	2,100,	Increase nearly two-thirds.
Aligarh, etc. ..	..	2,311,	2,970,	Increase over one-fourth.
Etah (part) ..	..	911,	936,	Increase slight.

It will be seen that with the exception of Bulandshahr and to a less extent of Aligarh the position in the districts is regular. In each case cultivation has extended, but not by an area so large as to make a material difference in the aspect of the country; the familiar description of parganas as "clearings in the jungle" was on this showing inapplicable to this tract, because the whole culturable area was under cultivation. The increase in Bulandshahr is great relatively to its neighbours, but trifling when compared with the country in the East of the province, and the figures suggest that the Upper duāb was in general fully cultivated, large tracts of waste being rare except in parts of the area now included in the districts of Bulandshahr and Aligarh.<sup>1</sup>

The Rohilkhand figures are:—

*Akbar's Area. Present Area.*

Bijnor (part) ..	582,	1,085,	Nearly doubled.
Moradabad (part) ..	1,640,	1,670,	Slight increase.
Budaun, etc. ..	1,776,	2,700,	Increased by one-half.
Bareilly ..	661,	1,320.	Doubled.

The interpretation of these figures is complicated by the position of the submontane forest. In order to find coincident boundaries, it has been necessary to vary the width of the strip of country under examination, and some of the tracts approach quite close to the probable position of the forest line, while others leave a large interval

<sup>1</sup> One of these tracts was perhaps the forest of Sikandra in the north west of Bulandshahr. When Thomas Twining travelled through the desolate duāb in 1794, most of the land was simply desert, indicating that the desolation was recent; but he marched for ten miles through this forest, and commented on the "noble trees" which it contained, so it may well have been in existence 200 years earlier (*Travels in India a Hundred Years Ago*, p. 267).



of cultivated country. The truth is, I think, that along the left bank of the Ganges there was a relatively narrow strip of fully occupied country, comparable in point of density to the *duāb*, while beyond it the *parganas* approached much more nearly to the condition described as "clearings in the jungle", until cultivation finally disappeared. . Elliot (*Races of the N.W.P.* ii., 149) fixed the forest-line of the period as lying from near Amroha to the north of Aonla, and the figures are in general accordance with this statement. In most of Bijnor the area considered goes close up to the hills, and a large increase is shown; in Moradabad a large extent of occupied country is excluded because coincident boundaries are not available, and here we have practically no change: the Budaun block keeps within Elliot's line and shows a moderate increase, while most of the Bareilly block lies close to it, and the increase is greater. Taking the figures as a whole, they indicate that the density of cultivation found in the Upper *duāb* extended across the Ganges, but by no means so far as it extends at present, and that as the line of the forest was approached, the density rapidly declined until cultivation became what may be described as an affair of outposts.

At this end of the province then the density of cultivation, though less than now, was of about the same order of magnitude: the country was cleared and occupied throughout the *duāb*, and also across the Ganges, but the forest-line came further into the plains, and the settled country was narrower than now. At the other end of the provinces, we find that the change has been much greater. The probable district figures stand as follows:—

	<i>Akbar's Area.</i>	<i>Present Area.</i>	
	<i>Bighas</i>	<i>Bighas</i>	
	(000 omitted).	(000 omitted).	
Ghazipur and Ballia..	318,	2,125,	Increase nearly 7-fold.
Azamgarh ..	250,	1,950,	Increase nearly 8-fold.
Jaunpur ..	360,	1,515,	Increase 4-fold.

## Benares and Mirzapur

(portions)	..	257,	1,085,	Increase 4-fold.
Allahabad (north)	..	216,	835,	Increase nearly 4-fold.

Along the Ganges from Allahabad to Benares, and also in Jaunpur, the increase is about four-fold, while towards the Gogra it is seven-fold or eight-fold. When we cross the Gogra the change is still more pronounced. We have figures for the two districts of Gorakhpur and Basti, which are most conveniently treated as a single block; as explained in the appendix the exact area assessed is doubtful, but cultivation has increased at any rate 17-fold, and more probably 40-fold—a figure which would indicate almost continuous jungle with outposts of cultivation at rare intervals, and at most a very narrow strip of settled country along the northern bank of the Gogra.

In regard to the extent of cultivation there is thus a marked contrast between East and West. A similar contrast is found in the incidence of the revenue, the average rates per bigha calculated from the adjusted statistics ranging from 20 to 30 dāms in the West, and from 45 to 60 dāms in the East. In part this difference is due to the fact that the crop-rates were higher in the East, the excess shown by the dasturs being roughly about 25 per cent: the remainder of the difference must be attributed to the class of cropping, and both these causes really come to the same thing. In the West cultivation had extended to the inferior soils, so that the common low-grade crops must have predominated, while the average yield (the basis of the assessment-rates) must have been comparatively low: in the East, the area cultivated was so small that we may safely infer the poorer soils to have been left untilld; a larger proportion of superior crops would therefore be grown, while the higher average of productivity would be reflected in the severer assessment-rates. Cultivators in the East could pick and choose their soil and their crops, and they could get on the average something like twice as many dāms from a bigha as the peasants in the West, who

had to cultivate land of all grades, and to adjust their cropping to the capacities of the land within their reach. It is a common-place of modern assessment theory that the incidence tends to vary inversely with the extent of cultivation, and we have here an instance of this relation prevailing in the time of Akbar.

One point regarding the incidence of the revenue requires mention in this place. In the Western tracts, but not in the East, we find a considerable number of parganas with incidence-rates which are either actually or practically impossible when judged by the dastūr, but for which no convincing emendation of the figures can be suggested. Such cases are noticeably frequent in the neighbourhood of Sambhal, where the strength of the zamindars was notorious, and the most probable explanation of them seems to be that the assessments were made on favourable terms: submissive parganas paid the full dastūr, but men who could make themselves seriously troublesome might be allowed to hold their parganas on terms which would leave them a comfortable income. I have assumed this to be the case, as is indicated in the appendix, but have eliminated these figures in striking the incidence for the various districts, so that the rates given represent the yield per bigha after excluding apparently favourable assessments.

#### *V. Conclusions.*

Abul Fazl's statistics disclose, when treated by the methods I have suggested, a definite picture of the economic condition of the country. It remains to enquire whether that picture is true, or probable, when examined in the light of other knowledge: can we infer from contemporary or subsequent descriptions that the western divisions were on the whole fully cultivated with a low average of productivity, while the eastern districts contained large areas of waste, with cultivation confined to the superior soils and yielding a correspondingly larger income per unit of area?

So far as the tract north of the Gogra is concerned, I think that this inference may be fairly drawn. Abul Fazl in his Account of the Sūba of Oudh has nothing to say about this part of the country, and if regard is had to the details he gives of other localities, we may conclude that the central administration had very scanty knowledge of the conditions of life in Gorakhpur. European travellers of the period did not, so far as I know, penetrate into these parts, but the knowledge available in regard to later times shows that the development of the tract is quite recent: according to the often-quoted account, at the beginning of the nineteenth century fires were lighted at night to keep the tigers out of the town of Gorakhpur, and it is a matter of common knowledge that the present extension of cultivation has occurred mainly under British rule. No surprise therefore need be excited by the inference drawn from the statistics.

As regards the Ganges-Gogra duāb, there is a little more direct evidence. Abul Fazl notices the two chief cities, Benares and Jaunpur, and a few places of minor importance as centres of industry, but has little to say about the country. In the *Akbarnama* it is stated that on the march of an army along the south bank of the Gogra in what is now the Azamgarh district, "forests were traversed, and various wild beasts, both land and aquatic, showed themselves" (*Akbarnama*, translated by Beveridge, ii., 396), a description which is entirely inapplicable at the present day. Finch was told that the journey from Jaunpur to Allahabad was thirty *kos*, "all which are thorow a continuall Forrest" (*Purchas* I. iv. 437): this statement, which is calculated to surprise readers familiar with the country, is quite compatible with the statistics before us, and I know of no contemporary record which contradicts the view presented by these passages. It may be added that according to the *Imperial Gazetteer* (article *Ballia*), much of the Ballia district was waste up to the time of the permanent settlement.

The inference drawn from the statistics that the West of the Provinces was much more fully cultivated than the East is not in itself one to excite surprise: the neighbourhood of the Imperial capital, and the existence of other cities like Budaun, lend probability to this view, which is to my mind supported by the greater detail in which Abul Fazl notices the agricultural features of this part of the country. I know however of no first-hand descriptions by contemporary travellers: those who passed beyond Agra went either eastwards to Bengal or north-westwards to Delhi and Lahore, and both routes lay on the right bank of the Jumna. The descriptions left by Finch and other travellers indicate that the country to Lahore was fairly well settled, and it is not improbable that the same statement should apply to the districts across the Jumna, but direct evidence on this point is wanting. It is at first sight difficult to reconcile the conclusions reached with our knowledge of this tract at the present day; we know the upper duāb as one of the most productive and prosperous parts of Northern India, and we instinctively hesitate to believe that it can once have been covered with inferior crops to an extent which almost justify us in describing it as a congested area. I think however that this instinctive hesitation can be shown to have no justification: the breach in continuity has been so great in this tract that it is in fact impossible to argue from 1900 to 1600 except by way of contrast. In the first place we have to recognise that most of the upper duāb was completely desolated during the latter part of the eighteenth century. In the work already quoted, Twining gives a vivid account of the conditions prevailing in Bulandshahr, Aligarh and Etah in the year 1794: most of the country was entirely uninhabited, the land was waste, and cultivation was confined to a few fields round each surviving village, where the inhabitants worked with their arms laid ready to hand in case of an incursion of marauders,—Gujars or Mewatis, Pindaris or Rohillas as the case might be. Congestion therefore, if

it previously existed, had been effectively removed as the result of political disorganisation. In the second place, if we neglect this catastrophic period and try to reconstruct the agricultural conditions of an earlier time, we find that they must have differed entirely from those which now prevail. The wealth of the upper duāb is now drawn from three main sources, wheat, sugarcane and cotton, while maize is the chief subsidiary crop, and it appears to me to be practically certain that not one of these crops can have been widely grown in the time of Akbar. Maize had not then reached Northern India, at least not on a scale to attract the notice of the revenue officers, since there is no trace of its having been brought under assessment. Sugarcane and wheat, on the existing scale of cultivation, are definitely the products of the canals constructed during the nineteenth century: it is physically impossible that they can have been widely grown with the scanty and unsatisfactory sources of irrigation available in Akbar's time, and before the advent of the canals the country must have resembled the plains of Central India, with great expanses of dry cropping broken by oases of garden cultivation in places where efficient wells were possible, or a stream lent itself to utilisation by the indigenous methods.<sup>1</sup> The case of cotton is somewhat different. My reason for thinking that it cannot have been important as a commercial crop is that I cannot see how large quantities could have been marketed. Raw cotton is too bulky to have been handled in quantity by the means of transport in existence about the year 1600, while I can trace no large outflow of piece-goods from the upper duāb such as is known to have existed in some other parts of the country. Cotton was doubtless grown, but mainly I think on the

<sup>1</sup> This is probably the explanation of the fact recorded by travellers (among them Sir Thomas Roe, at p. 218 of Mr. Foster's edition of the *Lambas*), that Jahangir's Court obtained wheat from Bengal. It is scarcely conceivable that wheat should have been carried so far unless the country close to Agra was unable to supply all that was needed.

scale indicated by the local consumption, the area being determined by the needs of the population, and not as now by the demand of a large part of Asia. If then we abstract maize, wheat, sugar and cotton from the staple products of the upper *duāb*, there is little left of value. Some inferior indigo was produced near Aligarh (Finch in *Purchas*, I. iv. 437), but this crop cannot have covered a material portion of the country ; tobacco and potatoes had not been introduced, and the bulk of the land must have yielded the ordinary low-grade crops, millets and pulses, oilseeds, and some barley. Working backwards then, we arrive at the inferior cropping indicated by the revenue statistics, and thus find a confirmation of the methods of treatment which I have indicated in this paper.

The same methods are applicable to the statistics for other parts of Northern India, and I hope that investigators with the requisite local knowledge may see their way to extend the enquiry. Two tracts in particular appear to be suitable for this purpose. The first is the country from Delhi to Lahore, the statistics for which are practically complete, but the comparative geography of which has still to be worked out. The second is Bihar (excluding *sarkār Monghyr*), where also the statistics are nearly complete, and where most of the geographical work has already been done (*vide* Beames, in *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LIV., pt. i., p. 162). Extension of the enquiry to those areas would probably yield sufficient information to decide whether the statistics can be interpreted on the lines I have suggested.

## APPENDIX.

The results which I have set out are based on a critical examination of the statistics, pargana by pargana, for all the sarkārs situated in the area under consideration. To exhibit this process in detail would require an excessive amount of space, and in the following analysis I have given only such portions as will enable critics to test my conclusions with the aid of the figures in Blochmann's printed text of the *Ain-i-Akbari*. The spelling follows Blochmann and Garrett's translation ; in some cases I have used the variant given in brackets where it facilitates identification.

### UPPER DUĀB.

1. *Sarkār Saharanpur*.—Of thirty-six parganas,<sup>1</sup> one (Indri) belongs to the Panjab, one (Sirdhanah) belongs to Meerut, and the remainder fall in the districts of Saharanpur and Muzaffarnagar, which I treat as a single block. The totals for the sarkār obtained by summation do not differ materially from those given in the text.

The rate test indicates possible errors in the following parganas : the figures are throughout smoothed, and represent thousands of bighas and of dams.

<i>Pargana.</i>		<i>Area</i>	<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Rate.</i>
Rurki ..	..	3	1,630	582
Raepur Tatar	..	5	370	79
Tughlakpur	..	82	220	3
Jaurasi ..	..	212	2,470	11
Thanah Bhim	..	271	3,580	13
Sirdhanah	..	114	1,590	14

Four other parganas have rates below 20 dams.

The rate for Rurki is impossibly high : there is almost certainly an error of a digit, and having regard to the average size of the parganas in this sarkār, it is probable that the error is in the area. I take this

<sup>1</sup> In some cases the statistics for two or more parganas are combined. In this analysis I treat such cases as a single pargana, and the number given will thus differ on occasion from that which is stated in the text. In sarkār Ghazipur, for instance, there were nineteen parganas, but Ghazipur and its Haveli are combined, while Parharbari is joined to Muhammadabad : the analysis therefore shows only seventeen parganas instead of nineteen.



item as about 27,680 instead of 2,768, and add 25,000 bighas to the total. There is probably a minor error in Raepur Tatar, but its nature is not apparent, and it will not affect the total materially.

Tughlakpur has probably lost a digit from the revenue (which as it stands is very small compared to the assignments), and I add 2,000 000 dams to the total. I suspect an error of less magnitude in the revenue of Jaurasi, but as regards this pargana and the others with rates below 20, there is also the possibility that the assessments were *zamindāri*, and below the regular incidence. We shall meet with many similar cases in the West, but scarcely any in the East: I make no change in the statistics on their account, but allow for them roughly in stating the incidence on the larger areas

2. *Sarkār Delhi*.—We are not concerned with the large portion of this sarkār lying on the right bank of the Jumna. Of the duāb parganas, three fall in Muzaffarnagar, fourteen in Meerut, and ten in Bulandshahr. One other (Tandah Bhagwan) has been divided between Muzaffarnagar and Meerut; the area is about 52,000 bighas, and as I cannot trace the exact line of division, I assign 40,000 to the former district on a consideration of the map. This may be wrong by about 10,000 bighas, but the error will not affect the totals materially.

There are no exceptionally high rates, and none so low as to indicate an error of a digit. In the Meerut and Bulandshahr groups there are nine parganas with rates impossibly, or almost impossibly, low: I treat these as *zamindāri* assessments as explained under Saharanpur.

3. *Sarkār Kol*.—Of twenty-one parganas, seven fall in Bulandshahr, nine in the Aligarh block, and five in Etah. The sarkār totals obtained by summation agree closely with those given in the text.

Here again there are no exceptionally high rates, but low rates are frequent. The following are obviously impossible:—

<i>Pargana.</i>		<i>Area.</i>	<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Rate.</i>
Thanah Farida	..	64	110	2 (below).
Tappal	..	163	1,800	11
Gangeri	..	54	372	7
Nuh	..	139	1,310	9

There is probably a digit missing from the revenue of Thanah Farida, the figure given being absurdly small for this part of the country, and the same considerations apply to Gangeri. I increase the revenue in these cases. The other two cases are more doubtful, and I make no alterations: either they are *zamindāri* assessments, or they contain errors which would not affect the totals very materially. There may also be some other *zamindāri* assessments in this sarkār.

4. *Sarkār Agra*.—Only two parganas, Mahawan and Jālesar, are required from this sarkār, so that the totals do not need examination. It may be noted, however, that the total area, ninety-one million odd bighas, given in the text, is quite impossible. The total for the whole Sūba is only twenty-seven millions, and the sarkār cannot have contained more than one-tenth of the area stated.

Mahawan presents no difficulties, but the figures for Jalesar (905,000 bighas, and 6,840,000 dāms) are impossible as they stand. It is reasonably certain that the error lies in the area, which on the figures is the largest in the Sūba, exceeding even the huge pargana of Agra, but the removal of a digit would give an improbably high incidence, and I am inclined to think that this is one of the rare cases where a left-hand digit has been changed: general considerations suggest that the area may have been about 400 000 bighas, and as I am anxious not to overstate the area assessed in this part of the country, I deduct 500,000 from the total.

5. *Sarkār Kananj*.—The totals do not need examination as only five parganas (Barnah, Patiali, Sikandarpur Atreji, Sahawar and Saket) are required to complete the area of the Etah district. All of these, except Saket, have very low rates. I treat Barnah as a *zamin-dāri* assessment in view of the fact that the revenue is given in round numbers. In two of the other three, the area is not likely to be seriously overstated, and either there are errors in the revenue or the assessment was *zamindāri*: the revenue of Sahawar has probably lost a digit, and I increase the total by two million dāms on this account.

After making the corrections indicated above, the figures for the modern districts work out as follows.—

(a) *Saharanpur—Muzaffarnagar*.

<i>Sarkār</i>	<i>Parganas.</i>	<i>Area.</i> <i>Bighas.</i>	<i>Revenue.</i> <i>Dāms</i>	<i>Rate.</i>
Saharanpur	34 parganas (as indicated above) ..	3,250,000	79,000,000	
Delhi	Jhinjhanah Kandhlah, Gangeru and a portion of Tandah Bhagwan ..	178,000	4,380,000	
	TOTALS. ..	3,428,000	83,380,000	24 dāms per bigha.

There are few traces of low *zamindāri* assessments in these two districts, so that the incidence of the revenue may be taken as an index to productivity.

I take the normal cropped area of Saharanpur as 1,100,000 acres,

and that of Muzaffarnagar as 900,000 acres: this gives 3,640,000 bighas (Akbaras) for the two districts, using the factor of conversion indicated in the text.

(b) *Meerut.*

Saharanpur.	Sirdhanah	..	114,000	1,590,000	
Delhi	.. 14 parganas	..	2,184,000	32,760,000	
„	.. Portion of Tandah				
	Bhagwan	..	12,000	300,000	
	TOTALS.	..	2,310,000	34,650,000	15 dāms per

The parganas in Delhi are :—Baghpat, Barnawah Puth, Chaprauli, Jalalabad, Jalalpur Barwat, Dasnah, Sarawah, Garhmuktesar, Kutanah, Loni, Meerut, Hapur and Hastinapur.

Excluding what I take to be low *zamindāri* assessments, the incidence would be about twenty dāms per bigha.

The normal cropped area of Meerut is about 1,425,000 acres, or, say, 2,600,000 bighas.

(c) *Bulandshahr.*

Delhi	.. 10 parganas	..	891,000	14,280,000	
Kol	.. 7 parganas	..	380,000	15,010,000	
	TOTALS	..	1,271,000	29,290,000	23 dāms per bigha.

The assessments in Kol are high: those in Delhi include several cases of what I take to be low *zamindāri* revenues, and excluding these, the incidence would be somewhat over 25 dāms.

The parganas included are: in Delhi—Adhah, Baran, Tilbegampur, Jewar, Dankaur, Sikandarabad, Sentah, Siyanah, Shakarpur and Kasnah; in Kol—Ahar, Pahasu, Thanah Farida Khurja, Dambhai, Shikarpur and Malikpur.

The normal cropped area is about 1,155,000 acres, or 2,100,000 bighas.

(d) *Aligarh block.*

This block comprises the Aligarh district, along with tahsil Jalesar of Etah, and tahsils Mat, Mahaban, and Sadabad of Muttra.

Kol	.. 9 parganas	..	1,615,000	34,800,000	
Agra	.. Mahawan and Jalesar ..	..	696,000	13,620,000	
	TOTALS.	..	2,311,000	48,420,000	21 dāms per bigha.

Allowing for probable low assessments, the true incidence would be under 25 dāms.

The parganas of sarkar Kol are Atrauli, Akbarabad, Tappal, Jalali, Chandaus, Sikandrah Rao, Kol, Gangeri, and Nuh.

The normal cropped area of the block is 1,634,000 acres, or 2,970,000 bighas.

(e) *Etah* (portion).

Tahsil Jalesar has been taken in the previous block. Three modern parganas (Aulai, Nidhipur and Faizpur Badaria) are excluded as, according to Elliot, they were at this period in Rohilkhand: Azamnagar also is excluded as it formed part of Akbar's large pargana of Shamsabad. The rest of the district comprises the following:—

Kol	..	Bilram, Pachlana, Sidhupur, Soron and Marahrah ..	469 000	8 300,000	
Kanauj	..	Barnah, Patiali, Sikandarpur Atreji, Saliawar and Saket ..	442,000	8,080,000	
TOTALS			911 000	16,380,000	18 dāms per bigha.

Allowing for low assessments, the true incidence would be somewhat over 20 dāms.

The normal cropped area is about 515,000 acres, or 936,000 bighas.

The figures for the Upper Duab may be summarised as follows:—

		<i>Present area.</i>	<i>Akbar's area.</i>	<i>Incidence</i>
Saharanpur	with			
Muzaffarnagar	..	3,640,000	3,428 000	25
Meerut	..	2,600,000	2 31 0000	20 (about).
Bulandshahr	..	2,100,000	1,271,000	25 (over).
Aligarh block	..	2 970,000	2,311,000	25 (under).
Etah block		936,000	911,000	20 (over).
		12 246 000	10,231,000	

#### ROHILKHAND.

The existing Rohilkhand division coincides closely with the sarkars of Sambhal and Budaon, but I have not found it possible to examine

the whole area because there have been frequent interchanges of territory with the sarkar of Kumaun, which was not under the the *zabti*, or regulation system, and for which consequently no record of areas exists. The comparison starts from the Ganges and is carried to the furthest point where coincident boundaries can be found

1. *Sarkār Sambhal*—Out of forty-seven parganas, thirty-two come into the area of comparison. Out of these, the figures of the following are open to question—

<i>Pargana</i>	<i>Area.</i>	<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Rate</i>
Ujhari ..	.. 125	700	5
Akbarabad ..	.. 54	640	12
Bachharaon ..	.. 115	830	7
Chandpur ..	.. 87	430	5
Jhalu .	.. 27	240	9
Jadwar..	.. 77	830	11
Dhakah ..	.. 130	670	5
Dabharsi ..	.. 83	280	3
Sherkot .	.. 20	4,920	248
Shahi ..	.. 80	900	11
Kundarki .	.. 86	670	8
Kachh..	.. 100	1,250	12
Ganaur ..	.. 51	270	5
Manjhaulah ..	.. 142	1,740	12
Neodhanah .	.. 210	900	4
Naroli ..	.. 182	1,410	8

The rate for Sherkot is impossibly high. The revenue is exceedingly large, and I take it as having a superfluous digit, the proper figure being about 490,000 dāms. It is probable that there are some errors in the remaining figures; I cannot suggest convincing alterations for any of them, and in all cases the revenue appears more likely to be in error than the area. I therefore use the figures as they stand: the areas are not such as to introduce the worst forms of error, while as to the revenue, it is known that *zamindārs* were powerful in this part of the country, and it is not unreasonable to treat the figures given as indicating the lenient terms they had been able to secure.

2. *Sarkār Budaon*.—Four parganas out of thirteen lie outside the area of comparison. The area-total of the sarkar comes (after correction of details) to about 2,000,000 bighas: the text has over 8,000,000, but this is certainly wrong, as it could not be fitted into the map. The suspicious figures are—

<i>Pargana.</i>	<i>Area.</i>	<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Rate.</i>
Budaon ..	658	7,360	11
Barsar ..	197	2,150	11
Sahiswan ..	253	2,490	10
Kot Salbahan ..	227	1,220	5

The area of Budaon is very large, but not excessive for a head-quarters pargana: probably there is an error in the revenue, or else the lands were held on favourable terms. In Kot Salbahan I think there is a superfluous digit in the area, which I take as 23,000, and in the same way I take Barsar as 97,000. I do not see a probable emendation for Sahiswan.

The modern districts of Rohilkhand stand as follows, excluding most of Pilibhit and Shahjahanpur, and also the Rampur State, where the boundaries are uncertain.

(a) *Bijnaur*.—Tahsil Nagina is omitted owing to uncertainties regarding the boundary. The remainder of the district includes ten complete parganas of Sambhal, as well as the greater part of four others. The complete parganas are Jalalabad, Akbarabad, Kiratpur, Bijnaur, Gaudaur, Chandpur, Mandawar, Jhalu and Nahtaur. Portions of Aazampur, Seoharah, Sahanspur and Sherkot appear to lie in Moradabad: exact figures of the division are not available, but from consideration of the maps, I transfer 55,000 bighas on this account, and the proportionate revenue of 1,790,000 dāms. After making this adjustment, the assessed area of Bijnaur (three tahsils) stands at 582,000 bighas, with revenue of 15,660,000 dāms, and an incidence of 27 dāms per bigha, which should be raised to about 30 dāms to allow for favourable assessments.

The normal cropped area of the tract is about 1,085,000 bighas, so that cultivation has not quite doubled.

(b) *Moradabad*—Two tahsils (Moradabad and Thakurdwara) are omitted owing to uncertainties regarding the boundary. The rest of the district comprised fourteen complete parganas, portions of the four named under Bijnaur, and probably some part of Manjhaulah, which I have included in Budaon. The complete parganas are: Amrohah, Ujhari, Islampur Dargu, Bachharaon, Sambhal, Haveli Sambhal, Deorah, Dhaka, Dabharsi, Rajabpur, Sirsi, Kundarki, Kachh and Naroli. Adding the area and revenue taken from Aazampur, etc., we get an area of 1,649,000 bighas, with 22,130,000 dāms revenue, and an incidence of less than fourteen dāms per bigha. Half the parganas are comprised in the list given above of very low incidences, due as I take it to favourable assessments: omitting these, the incidence would be over twenty dāms.

The normal cropped area of this tract is now about 1,167,000 bighas, or practically the same as the area assessed under Akbar. I may have assigned to it a larger area from Bijnaur than it actually got, but, on the other hand, I think it is entitled to some share of Manjhaulah, and in any case, these adjustments could not affect the broad conclusion.

(c) *Budaon block*.—This block comprises the Budaon district, two tahsils (Aonlah, and Mirganj) of Bareilly, and the three modern parganas (Aulai, Nidhpur and Faizpur Badaria) of Etah which (following Elliot) I treat as having belonged to Rohilkhand. Under Akbar it included five parganas (Jadwar, Shahi, Ganaur, Neodhanah and Manjhaulah) of Sarkār Sambhal, and eight from Sarkār Budaon (Ajaon, Aonlah, Budaon, Barsar, Sahiswan, Sanas Mandeh, Suneya, and Kot Salbahan). Reducing the areas of Barsar and Kot as suggested above, the figures stand as follows :—

<i>Sarkār.</i>	<i>Pargana.</i>		<i>Area.</i>	<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Incidence.</i>
Sambhal ..	5 parganas ..	560	4,640		
Budaon ..	8 „ ..	1,216	17,390		
		1,776	22,030	13 dāms per bigha.	

As noted above, this may be an overstatement, since part of Manjhaulah may belong to Moradabad, but the error would not make a material change in the totals. The incidence is again very low, owing to the inclusion of what I take to be favourable assessments; probably twenty would be nearer the truth, but the pargana figures are here very irregular.

The normal cropped area of this tract is about 2,700,000 bighas, showing an increase of just over one-half.

(d) *Bareilly block*.—Under this block I take the country comprised in Akbar's great pargana of Bareli, namely, three tahsils of Bareilly, one of Pilibhit, and two parganas of Shahjahanpur. The area was 661,000 bighas, revenue 12,510,000 dāms, and incidence 19 dāms per bigha. The normal cropped area is now about 1,320,000 bighas, or just about double the earlier figure.

The figures for Rohilkhand may be summarised as follows :—

<i>Tract.</i>		<i>Present area.</i>	<i>Akbar's area.</i>	<i>Incidence</i>
Bijnor ..	..	1,085,000	582,000	30 (about).
Moradabad	..	1,670,000	1,649,000	20 (about).
Budaon ..	..	2,700,000	1,776,000	20 (about).
Bareilly ..	..	1,320,000	661,000	19
		6,775,000	4,668,000	

## GANGES-GOGRA DUĀB.

We are concerned with the sarkārs of Ghazipur, Jaunpur and Benares. and also with portions of Chunar and Allahabad. The statistics differ from those hitherto reviewed in three respects: (a) the areas of the parganas are much smaller; (b) the incidences are much higher; and (c) there are practically no cases of those very low rates, not easily explicable by errors in the text, which, in the West, I have treated as due to favourable terms of assessment.

1. *Sarkār Ghazipur*.—The figures have already been discussed in the body of the paper. The only adjustment needed is in the revenue of Pachotar.

2. *Sarkār Jaunpur*.—The total area obtained by addition agrees closely with that given in the text; the revenue on the other hand shows an excess of fifteen million dāms, due mainly to the error noticed below in the figures for Karakat.

The rate-test throws doubt on the following figures out of thirty-four parganas (excluding the six parganas now in Oudh).

<i>Pargana.</i>	<i>Area.</i>	<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Rate.</i>
Nizamabad	.. 6	600	100
Gadwarah	.. 2	510	255
Karakat ..	.. 48	23,000	479
Gopalpur ..	.. 3	18	6

Nizamabad is practically, though not theoretically, impossible; the area is in any case too small to make a material difference in the district total, but to avoid possible understatement, I increase it by 10,000 bighas. I make a similar correction for another small pargana, Gadwarah. In Karakat the revenue is impossibly high, and there is most probably a superfluous digit; I reduce the revenue to 2,300,000. Gopalpur is interesting, though too small to be important. The translation gives the revenue as 18,043 dāms; the text has the same digits, but they are irregularly spaced, and there is a gap between the four and three which suggests that a digit or cipher has been dropped in printing.<sup>1</sup> I therefore take the revenue as 180,000.

3. *Sarkār Benares*.—The revenue totals agree closely, but there is a discrepancy in the area of the sarkār. The translation gives 36,869 bighas, but the text has 136,869, which is certainly nearer the truth. Summation of the text figures gives 192,000 odd, but the emendation of pargana Byalsi noted below brings the totals into substantial agreement. The doubtful figures are:—

<sup>1</sup> It may be noted that a digit has dropped in the same way from the area of Haveli Karra in Sarkār Karra.



Pandarha	..	..	5	840	168
Byalsi	..	..	61	550	9

The error in Pandarha is too small to make much difference, but to avoid understating the areas, I take its area as 15,000. It is barely possible on the map that Byalsi could have had so much cultivation, and it is much more probable that the figure should be 6,961, instead of 60,961, thus bringing the sarkār totals into harmony. I therefore take the area as 7.

4. *Sarkār Chunar*.—This sarkār lay south of the Ganges, and we are concerned only with an outlying portion north of the river: it is described as “Kariāt in-ru-i āb”, and the text figures are probable.

5. *Sarkār Allahabad*.—The totals need not be examined as some of the parganas were “unmeasured”: complete figures are, however, given for the seven parganas north of the Ganges, and all of them are reasonable

The comparison with modern areas in this duāb works out as follows:—

(a) *Ghazipur block*.—This includes the two districts of Ghazipur and Ballia, omitting (i) tahsil Zamaia, which lies south of the Ganges, and (ii) pargana Doaba, which was administered as part of Sūba Bihar. It comprises six parganas (Bhadaon, Bihtari, Khanpur, Kharid, Sikandarpur and Shadiabad) of sarkār Jaunpur, and the following fourteen of sarkār Ghazipur: Balia, Pachotar, Bahriabad, Bhalacch, Dihba, Saiyyidpur Namdi, Zahurabad, Ghazipur, Kariat Pali, Kopachhit, Gandha, Karenda, Lakhner, and Muhammadabad. After correcting the revenue for Pachotar the statistics stand as follows:—

<i>Sarkār.</i>	<i>Parganas.</i>	<i>Area.</i>	<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Incidence.</i>
Ghazipur	.. 14 parganas	.. 194	9 230	
Jaunpur	.. 6 „	.. 124	6,240	
		318	15,470	49 dāms per bigha.

The normal cropped area of this tract is about 2,125,000 bighas, or nearly seven times the area shown above.

(b) *Azamgarh district*.—This district stands by itself, with only a slight uncertainty regarding the boundaries on the North and West. It is made up as follows:—

Ghazipur	.. Pargana Bil-			
	habas	.. 12	650	
Jaunpur	.. 14 parganas	.. 222	12,780	
		234	13,430	60 dāms per bigha.

The Jaunpur parganas are : Tilhani, Chiriyakot, Chakesar, Deogaon, Sagri, Kariat Mittu, Ghosi, Kauria, Gopalpur, Muhammadabad, Mau, Nizamabad, Nangun and Nathupur.

The boundary uncertainties might increase the total area by 15,000, or possibly reduce it by as much as 30,000 to avoid understatement, I choose the former alternative, and take the area as about 250,000 bighas.

The normal cropped area is about 1,950,000 bighas, or nearly eight times the area shown above.

(c) *Jaunpur district*.—This district also stands by itself. I include in it pargana Chanda, which was in Oudh when Elliot wrote, but most if not all of which is now in the district. A deduction has to be made for a fragment on the North which I have assumed to belong to Azamgarh. After making corrections already indicated in the pargana statistics, the figures stand :—

Benares ..	Byalsi ..	7	550	
Jaunpur ..	13 Parganas ..	363	20,360	
		<hr/>	<hr/>	
		370	20,910	56 dāms per bigha.
		<hr/>	<hr/>	

The Jaunpur parganas are Angli Jaunpur Chandah, Rari, Zafarabad, Kariat Dostpur, K. Mendhah, K. Soethah, Ghiswah, Gadwarah, Karakat Mandiahu and Mungra. Making a deduction for a portion of Angli now in Azamgarh, the area is about 360,000 bighas.

The normal cropped area is about 1,515,000 bighas, so that cultivation has increased more than fourfold.

(d) *Benares block*—This tract includes those portions of the Benares district, the Benares State, and the Mirzapur district, which lie north of the Ganges : it is made up as follows —

Allahabad ..	Bhadoi ..	73	3,660	
Chunar ..	Kariat in-ru-i			
	āb ..	18	850	
Jaunpur ..	Kolah ..	24	1,360	
Benares ..	6 parganas ..	142	8,290	
		<hr/>	<hr/>	
		257	14,160	55 dāms per bigha.
		<hr/>	<hr/>	

The parganas in Sarkār Benares are . Afrad, Benares, Pandarha, Kāswar, Katehr and Harhua.

The normal cropped area of the tract, using the figures of the *Imperial Gazetteer* for the Benares State for which I have no later data, is about 1,085,000 bighas. Cultivation has therefore increased about fourfold

(e) *Allahabad block*.—This block includes the portion of the Allahabad district lying north of the Ganges, leaving out the small detached pargana of Mirzapur Chauhari, which under Akbar belonged to Sarkār Manikpur. The block corresponds with the following six parganās: Soraon, Singraur, Sikandarpur, Kuai, Mah and Hadiabas (Jhusi): the figures are straightforward, and give an area of 216,000 bighas, with 10,890,000 dāms revenue and an incidence of 50 dāms per bigha.

The normal cropped area is about 835,000 bighas, so that cultivation has increased almost fourfold.

The figures for the Ganges-Gogra duāb thus stand as follows:—

<i>Tract.</i>		<i>Present area.</i>	<i>Akbar's area.</i>	<i>Incidence.</i>
Ghazipur block	..	2,125,000	318,000	49
Azamgarh district	..	1 950 000	250,000	60
Jaunpur district	..	1.515,000	360.000	56
Benares block	..	1.085,000	257,000	55
Allahabad block	..	835.000	216,000	50
		<hr/>	<hr/>	
		7,510,000	1,401.000	
		<hr/>	<hr/>	

#### TRANS-GOGRA TRACT.

The two large modern districts of Gorakhpur and Basti are made up of fifteen parganas of Sarkār Gorakhpur with Anbodha from Sarkār Oudh. The Gorakhpur parganas are: Anhaula, Binaikpur, Bhanwaparrah, Telpur, Chiluparah, Daryaparrah, Dewaparrah-Kotlah, Rasulpur-Ghosi, Gorakhpur, Katihla, Kahlaparrah, Mahauli, Mandwah, Mandlah, and Maghar-Ratanpur. The doubtful figures are:—

<i>Pargana.</i>		<i>Area.</i>	<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Incidence.</i>
Rasulpur Ghosi	..	4	620	155
Mahauli	..	3	620	207
Mandwah	..	2	450	225
Anbodha	..	282	1,300	4

The difference in conditions is so great that the figures for the three small parganas become immaterial, but to avoid understatement I add 30,000 bighas to the total on their account. Anbodha is much more serious. It is very hard to believe that the pargana can ever have had anything like the area given, or that it paid only 4 dāms a bigha. I can get no help from the sarkār totals, because the figures for the Oudh Sarkār are as a whole the most puzzling in Northern India: I conjecture there is a superfluous digit in the area, but I show the figures in alternative form:—

<i>Sarkār.</i>	<i>Pargana.</i>	<i>Area.</i>		<i>Revenue.</i>	<i>Incidence.</i>
		(a)	(b)		
Gorakhpur..	15 Parganas	180	180	8,380	
Oudh ..	Anbodha	282	28	1,300	
		462	208	9,680	(a) 21 dāms per bigha.
		—	—	—	(b) 46 „ „

The normal cropped area is now about 8,000,000 bighas, so that cultivation has increased at any rate seventeen-fold, and to my mind more probably forty-fold



## THE FOLKLORE OF KUMAON

By Rev. E. S. Oakley

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*THE FOLKLORE OF KUMAON,*  
*With reference to Folklore in general.*

BY THE REV. E. S. OAKLEY, M.A.

WHEN I was honoured, through my friend Dr. Venis, with an invitation to address this learned Society, it occurred to me that though I have no sort of claim to expert knowledge in any branch of History, properly so-called, there is yet one subject to which I was able to devote many hours spared from a busy life in the good years before the advent of the War—Folklore, the subject to which I refer, is a study subsidiary and auxiliary to History, and may by a stretch of courtesy be admitted to a humble place in its precincts. It has this attraction too, I am encouraged to think, that it is a subject in which everybody, learned or simple, is more or less interested, seeing that we all have in us something of primitive human nature and inherited and traditional links binding us to the early past of our race. Having, then, been enabled to collect a considerable amount of material bearing on the folklore of this Province, I propose to give a few illustrative selections, with such passing reference to the popular traditions of Europe as may throw light on the subject in general. I shall invite you to spend a few minutes with me in Fairy-land, that country where almost anything may happen, where everything is alive and endowed with soul, the world in which the childhood of all nations was passed. It is a world that we find still to some extent existing in the secluded valleys of this romantic province, among a people as yet but little touched by the modern spirit, and whose simple thoughts about life and Nature often carry us back



to a remote antiquity, reminding us of old tags and relics of primitive folklore in Western lands. The old-world notions which there exist only as faint echoes almost overborne by the tide of modern science and present day interests, are here found in rich profusion, enabling us to piece together more effectively the fragments of tradition in those more advanced communities. There is no question (I need hardly say) of the folklore of any country being *derived* from that of another, except in certain well-defined cases, for, just as the human body is everywhere in its general features identical, so the human mind in its workings under similar circumstances begets a similar set of ideas. Without such a key to the interpretation of Folklore, the study of it remains the mere farrago of nonsense and collection of old wives' fables which a hasty and unsympathetic criticism has sometimes deemed it, while, by the light of such an intelligent theory, numberless apparently arbitrary and unrelated facts arrange themselves in orderly sequence, and are found to be illustrations of invariable laws of mind.

Briefly, then, I would remind you at the outset that the earliest condition of man everywhere was one in which the imagination predominated over the reason. Man felt himself to be a soul endowed with will and feelings, and attributed the same qualities to well-nigh every natural object around him. The sun and moon to him were persons, endowed with semi human qualities, and especially the animals whose quick movements and mysterious attributes called forth his wondering attention, were endowed not only with human but often with super-human qualities, appearing wiser or more powerful than himself. So it is that in the naive fictions that we call fairy tales, and which are often in their essential features of immense antiquity, this attitude of mind still persists, and animals talk with men, favoured ones of whom are gifted with the power of understanding their speech, inanimate things are regarded as living and sentient, certain natural objects

come to be regarded as of peculiar importance, answering to men's hopes and fears, and possessed of strange potency of help or injury. Hence, we have animism and fetichism, those almost universal types of early thought. Ordinary events like the rising of the sun, the procession of the seasons, the growth of harvests, were thought to depend on the incantations of wizards, or other supernatural causes. So we have the rise of magic, sorcery, totems, taboo, and a whole universe of elaborate rules and prohibitions. This is a very scanty and imperfect outline of the science which has been so laboriously worked out during the last half century, but it will serve as an introduction to our present brief discussion.

### THE EXTERNAL SOUL.

Especially important to an understanding of the folk-tales of various races is the primitive idea of the soul or life. The phenomena of sleep and dreams readily suggested that the soul might leave the body and return, that in fact it is separable from the body and may even have its location in some distant place. This is a familiar feature of fairy tales of an antique type. In one Kumaon story the soul or life of an ogress is kept in the body of a parrot which lives on a pipal tree across the seven seas. The hero travels thither with the help of a magic sandal, climbs the tree and kills the parrot, whereupon the ogress dies. In another story a sorcerer's soul resides in a parrot kept in a cage. When the hero severs the legs of the parrot the wizard becomes lame, and when he kills it outright he dies. In yet another, a demon informs his daughter that his life is quite safe, for it is secure in the body of a beetle, which again is hidden in the body of a parrot, which is kept in an iron cage, which is securely locked in an inner room, there being six outer rooms to be passed through before it can be reached. In still another story the life of a wizard is hidden in a knife, and when the secret is

disclosed, and the knife is found and broken, the wizard dies. The last mentioned story is a lengthy one with some highly interesting details, for instance the dead body of a chief is not burnt but floated down a river on a bier, which may possibly refer to some custom of Dasyus or aborigines, and mention is also made of dwelling-houses with a central pillar, a style of building which has been obsolete for ages -- an illustration of the preservation of archaic details which is one of the most interesting features of folk-tales.

### THE MELUSINA TYPE OF STORY.

Another common type of story, met with in the folklore of many lands, embodies the idea of a fairy husband or wife who can assume the form of an animal, usually a serpent. The classic example is the story of Melusina, a princess in the Duchy of Luxemburg, who takes the shape of a fire-breathing serpent bearing in her mouth a key or ring, which must be taken away by her deliverer with his own lips. There are numberless stories from various quarters of the world in which a fairy prince or princess is doomed to wear a monstrous or animal form until disenchanted by a deliverer who uses the appropriate means, though there usually remains the danger of the fairy bride or husband returning to the original form. Sometimes it is added that the animal skin or covering, or feather-robe (in the case of Swan maidens), must be kept out of the way of the fairy beings, or they will recover them and disappear. The story given below, told in a Kumaon village some years ago, has some of the immemorial features peculiar to this class of tale, with the additional detail that a complete deliverance is achieved for the enchanted person. The barest outline of the story is here given :—

There was once a great man and his wife, and they were without offspring. The husband in displeasure drove out the wife, who became a wandering beggar. One day she found a small stick-like object resembling a young

snake. She kept it in her basket, and the next day it grew and filled the basket. She put it into a larger basket, which it soon also filled. Ere long she returned to her husband's mansion and took up her abode in a barn (bhákar), the husband taking no notice of her. In a few days the serpent filled the barn. (There is a suggestion here of the dragon stories of Europe and the famous Lambton Worm.) The woman went and told her husband that she now had a son, meaning the serpent, and required a house for him. With careless generosity he built her a large three-storied house, and she placed the serpent there. It coiled itself all through the house and lay with its head on the threshold. The woman now told her husband that her son had grown up and she required a wife for him. A poor orphan girl was found, and she was married to the serpent. She was made to wait on the snake and anoint him with a magic oil provided by the self-styled mother-in-law, who seems to have been a witch. The girl wept at her dreadful fate, but her mother-in-law bade her be patient, and to live in the house with the serpent. On the third day the serpent put off his skin and appeared in a handsome human form. The girl informed her mother-in-law, who instructed her that night to take the serpent's skin while her husband slept, and to burn it along with her bodice. She did so, but carelessly left a small portion of it unburnt. The husband awaking looked for his snake-skin, and at last found the small unburnt bit and from that re clothed himself and again appeared in his former shape as a serpent. The mother-in-law instructed the young wife to be more careful the next time, and to burn every particle of the skin along with her (the mother-in-law's) bodice. This was done; the fairy husband was unable to return to the serpent form, and remained as an ordinary man, and they all lived happily ever after. Many stories of this kind are current. They seem to go back to an early age when the barriers between human and animal life were still vaguely conceived.

**THE SOUL'S JOURNEY AFTER DEATH.**

The idea that alms given in one's life-time will be repaid in the future world is found in many old legends. It is clearly expressed in the Vendidad of the Zend-Avesta, where we find it stated, "At the head of the Chinvat bridge (over which souls have to pass after death), the holy bridge made by Mazda, they ask for their spirits the reward for the worldly goods which they have given away." Referring to the idea of the return of alms, Sir Walter Scott in his 'Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border' quotes a passage from an old MS. in the Cotton Library, descriptive of the Yorkshire district of Cleveland in Elizabeth's reign: "When any dieth, certain women sing a song (still extant) to the dead body, reciting the journey that the party deceased must go, and they are of belief that once in their lives it is good to give a pair of new shoes to a poor man, forasmuch as after this life they are to pass barefoot through a great laund, full of thorns and furzen." These "dead-shoes" were also given in Sweden and Germany. It is interesting to find a similar belief embodied in a Kumaon folk-tale, which runs as follows:—

Once a King proclaimed throughout his dominions that he would give a lakh of rupees to any man who would consent to be entombed alive. Half of the sum was to be paid in advance and the other half if he came unscathed from the ordeal. A rich miser offered. He was taken in procession to a cemetery by the King's officers accompanied by a great crowd. On the way he was met by an ascetic, who asked for an alms, telling the miser that as he was going to be buried he ought to give away something for the benefit of his soul. As he had nothing else about him to give, the miser in jest handed to the holy man the shell of an almond which he picked up from the ground. The ascetic said, "You will receive the reward of what you have given me." The man was then buried in a tomb, which was closed up. While in this living grave he saw many hideous sights. Horrid demons came to devour him, and venomous snakes

assailed him, but the almond-shell stood him in good stead, for it was interposed between the fangs of the serpents and himself every time they tried to bite him. Next morning the King came to the place and ordered that the tomb should be opened, expecting the entombed man to have perished, but to the surprise of all he was found alive. He was taken out, bathed and sumptuously attired, and told to accompany the King to his palace in order to receive the remainder of the promised reward. He, however, flatly refused to go, declaring that he must return home at once to attend to his affairs, promising, however, to come again later. On reaching home, without a moment's delay he began distributing his wealth to the poor. He gave away all his possessions, leaving nothing for himself or his family. On going to receive the second half of the money from the King, he related what had happened to him in the tomb, and taking the rupees, distributed them also to the poor.

#### WITCHCRAFT.

The old belief in the loup-garou or were-wolf (a man or woman who has the power of assuming an animal form) which formerly prevailed in various parts of Europe, and even nowadays has not altogether lost its terrors, finds its exact counterpart in the superstitions of the Bhoksas, an aboriginal tribe living at the foot of these hills, and in Garhwál the first Commissioner of Kumaon, Mr. Traill, nearly a hundred years ago, mentions a Bhoksa at Srinagar who was credited with the power of turning into a tiger. He would eat a herb which would transform him into the required form, and afterwards eat one which restored him to the human shape, and was said to have devoured many persons. The Tharus also in the Tarai are credited with similar powers, and with the power of the evil eye. Some years ago I was told there was a Bhoksa wizard still living who in the form of a tiger had eaten not less than 400 people. It is said that a poor and broken man among them

finding himself unable to make a living by ordinary means will resolve to be a wizard. He will partake of a certain herb, and give another herb to the members of his family, promising them that he will return after a certain number of years, when they must put this herb in his mouth, and he will reassume the human form. Those who have not forgotten their Vergil, will be reminded of Moeris, mentioned in the 8th Eclogue, who by the use of baneful herbs could transform himself into a wolf. Having become a tiger by eating the magical plant, the Bhoksa wizard goes about seeking whom he may devour, and collects the jewels of all the women whom he slays. At the promised time he will return to his home. If the members of his family are afraid, and fail to take the proper measures, he will devour even them, but if they remember to put the herb in his mouth they will be safe, and their relative will be restored to his first form. The Bhoksas, both men and women, have a high reputation for witchcraft. Witches ride through the air, like their European sisters, borne by demons. Another link of association with our western superstitions is the belief that the power of witchcraft cannot pass over a running stream. Readers of the "Lay of the Last Minstrel" will remember how young Buccleuch was saved in this way. It is a common idea that a witch or wizard can only enchant between the two next streams, so at Almora sorcery can only be exercised between the bounds marked by the two rivers Sual and Kosi which enclose the ridge on which the town stands. As in Burns' description of the flight of Tam'o Shanter from "Alloway's auld haunted Kirk" pursued by witches, the crossing of a stream renders powerless the pursuit of spells or demons. There are certain safeguards against witchcraft, which are interesting both from their likeness to and difference from the European remedies. A very powerful agent is the mustard-seed. The burning of the seeds is said to drive away the effect of charms. A few of the seeds are waved round the head of the bewitched man and put on the fire,

while a mantra is recited. This burns up and removes altogether the power of the sorcery. Such mantras or charms are called *Rakhwáli* or protectives, and are equally efficacious against demons and ghosts or sorcery, especially in case of disease. They contain many old and obsolete Pahari words and are evidently of considerable antiquity, and are usually handed down from father to son, in families of exorcists.

### NIDHI, OR TALISMANS.

The belief in certain objects as possessed of magical power is wide-spread and takes us back to the period of fetichism. Shakespeare speaks of the fern-seed which enables a man to walk invisible, and the minor superstitions attaching to the even ash, or ash-twigg with an even number of leaves, and the four-leaved shamrock, and the like, are familiar. In Kumaon there are various articles known under the general name of Nidhi, a Hindi word signifying "depository" (of magical power). One of the most famous of the Nidhis or talisman is the Shyálsinghi or jackal's horn. The animal that possesses such a horn becomes king of the jackals. The horn appears only when the royal jackal shrieks, and at other times it remains invisible. Whenever the king thus cries, all the others are obliged to acknowledge him as their lord, by their howling response. If any of the pack neglects to do so his head breaks and he dies. The leading jackal is supposed to cry "Main Dilli ká bádsháh hún," which he utters thrice. To this the others reply in chorus "Ho, ho, ho!" "You are, you are!" Many wonderful properties are ascribed to the jackal's horn, and the possessor of it secures power over all, even kings and governors, can defeat his enemies, compel love and liking, is protected from the effect of weapons, and is sure to prosper.

A mysterious talisman is the *Chintamani*, which might be supposed to mean a fabulous gem yielding to its possessor whatever he may desire. In one Kumaon fairy tale.



however, it is represented as a piece of wood which an ascetic gave to a man while he was roaming in a forest, and by means of which he called up a palace, a wife, and various other luxuries, but when the precious piece of timber was carried off by the machinations of an ogress, the whole scene disappeared and he was left desolate. The man put an end to himself in his despair, but his faithful dog cleverly recovered the chintamani, which was then employed to provide amrit or life-giving nectar that restored him to life.

The flowers of the night-blooming *Berhu*, a species of fig-tree, are regarded as a talisman. If anyone can see the flowers open he will become a king.

The belief in the *Páras-patthar*, or philosopher's stone, the touch of which converts baser metals into gold, flourishes still in the Hills, among women and rustics. Shakespeare refers to the toad, ugly and venomous, which yet "bears a precious jewel in his head." The elephant and rhinoceros are believed here to have the same, and the distinguished powers of any great man are liable to be attributed to a similar cause. Rumour in India will have it that the late Mr. W. E. Gladstone's family were offered a fabulous sum by scientists for his head, that they might get possession of the jewel which endowed him with such remarkable wisdom.

The divining-rod of witch-hazel does not appear to be used in Kumaon, but in its place one hears of diviners who can discover water or treasure by means of *scent*. They take up earth in their hand and sniff it, or put their noses to the ground.

### OMENS AND DEATH-SIGNALS.

Dreams, as in Europe go by contraries. If you find yourself crying in a dream, it portends that you will soon have cause to laugh. The ill effect of ominous dreams may be removed by thinking of fire, the sun, gods, or sacred emblems. If a snake crosses one's path, one is sure to meet

with calamity. The bad omen may be averted by tearing off a bit of cloth or a few blades of grass, and laying them on the road, otherwise that road must not be taken. If a crow says "Kaw, Kaw!" it foretells visitors, like the crowing of a cock in Britain, but if it says "Pakao, Pakao!" (as it sometimes does), or if it crows at night, it portends speedy death. Also if a jackal shrieks three times on the north side of a house, and anyone is ill at the time, it is a most unfavourable omen. If it cries thrice on any other side of the house good hopes may be entertained. If a lighted lamp goes out or is extinguished by accident, after dark, it is a bad sign. Should the dejected householder have survived all these dangers, and should he meet an empty basket or dish on going out, he is doomed to misfortune, but a full one promises success. Sneezing is reckoned a bad sign. Folklorists explain that sneezing was generally regarded among primitive people as dangerous to the soul of life (that kittle commodity), which might be expelled by this means, so we have the "God bless you!" in Britain, to avert the threatened ill, and in Kumaon people say "Chiranjio" (live long!), but nowadays only to young children. So the general tendency of ancient superstitions to be softened down into childish rhymes, or even jests, is here illustrated.

#### SUPERSTITIONS ABOUT IRON.

It is well known that a Stone Age and a Bronze Age preceded the general use of iron, and hence the conservatism of primitive religion forbade its employment in sacred rites, the gods being supposed to resent its use as once a new-fangled invention, while at the same time it has a deterrent effect on ghosts and other evil-disposed spirits. Their dislike of the metal makes them unwilling to approach persons protected by it, and therefore it is of great potency as a charm. The nailing of a horse-shoe on stable-doors is familiar. Thus, when Scotch fishermen

(we are told by Mr. J. Mackenzie) were at sea, and one of them happened to take the name of God in vain, the first man who heard him called out "cauld airn!" at which every man of the crew grasped the nearest bit of iron and held it between his hands for a while. Pieces of iron, such as nails or knitting-needles, used to be stuck into meat, butter, cheese, etc., in the north of Scotland, to prevent "death" from entering them. At the festival of All Souls in Prussia, in pre-Christian times, no knives were used, so as not to injure the ghosts. There are many references to fairies being afraid of iron. Any iron instrument placed in a cradle protects children. Fairy wives would sometimes fly away from their human spouses if struck with iron. Both these ideas relative to iron are found prevalent in Kumaon. Thus a weapon of some kind is (or was) put under the head or bedding of a person suffering from fever to ward off evil spirits. Old people used to keep a knife in their pocket as a protective. A knife is taken along when a child is conveyed, from one house to another at night or in a procession, to prevent its becoming possessed. After a birth an iron tool is kept in the room where the infant sleeps. The common explanation is that by the utterance of Vedic mantras on some great occasion all things were dissolved, but iron refused to melt. The metal is thus marked as not amenable to divine influence. The Kumaon practice of branding the skin of children with a hot spindle-iron, for some diseases, may possibly be due to similar ideas. We may also refer to the production of fire from the fire-drill in Vedic sacrifices, and the injunctions of the Shastras that the principal vessels used for sacrifice should be made of wood and not of metal.

### GHOSTS.

The souls of children who die are believed in Kumaon to become for a time lights on the hill-sides. It is pointed out that one may sometimes see many small bright lights,

which quickly disappear, leaving perhaps only one shining. These are the souls of little children. It is almost startling to find that the *Ignis Fatuus* or *Will-o'-the-Wisp* was believed in England to be the soul of a child which had died unbaptised. In Brittany the *Porte-brandon* appears in the form of a child bearing a torch which he turns like a burning wheel, and with this, it is said, he sets fire to villages, which are sometimes by night suddenly enveloped in flames. In Lusatia where the wandering child-souls are regarded as harmless, it is believed that they may be relieved from their wanderings as soon as some pious hand throws a handful of consecrated ground after them. The question naturally arises in the mind as to whether all such resemblances are mere accidental coincidences, or whether we have to recognise a possible inheritance of such ideas from some pre-historic racial centre or starting-point.

Ill-behaved ghosts in this province sometimes amuse themselves by throwing stones. One observer describes having heard in a certain haunted locality a sound resembling the beating of a bag of walnuts on a stone, which is circumstantial enough. Kumaon ghosts resemble European ones by being readily deceived and easily frightened. In fact they may be described as half-witted. They cannot injure anyone who is not afraid of them, or a pure-minded person; an idea so splendidly wrought out in Milton's "*Comus*." It is enough in most cases, if one sees a ghost, to strike two stones together. The apparition will be afraid and retire. Striking a spark with iron, or keeping an iron weapon near one, has the same effect, because (as it is explained) this inspires the ghost with an idea of one's boldness, and sufficiently daunts his feeble, flickering intelligence. We know, however, another explanation of this, which may be more probable. Ghosts fear a dog, but cats are friendly to ghosts, so at night people will not allow a cat to enter the house, as it is believed that a ghost or demon sometimes assumes the feline form. The European connection between witches and cats as familiar

spirits may rest on some such idea. Possession by ghosts is a troublesome feature of life in Kumaon, and may take many forms. At a place between Ranikhet and Ramnagar there are some graves of British soldiers. The ghosts of these defunct heroes sometimes take possession of people in the neighbourhood, who then go about demanding *sharáb*, *cheroot*. On being supplied with these articles the possessed persons come to their senses again, and the ghosts leave them. People sometimes meet ghosts who talk in an incoherent manner, as though trying to imitate human speech, and on parting offer gold or silver coin, or other desirable things, which on subsequent examination turn out to be mere fragments of bone. This is strongly reminiscent of the "fairy gold" of European tales, which turns out to be dross, leaves, or coal. It suggests the inference that ghosts (*bhút*, *pret*, *pisách*, etc.), in India correspond to the British fairies or pixies. These supernatural beings under various names have much in common, and though euphemistically styled the "good folk" in England, are of uncertain moral quality, and, as those who have read any large number of fairy stories know, as often as not mischievously inclined.

A typical ghost story tells how, during a small-pox epidemic, a government *chaprassi* entered a certain village of which all the inhabitants were either dead or fled, except in one house where a man lay still apparently alive. The *chaprassi* was invited by this patient to stay with him and cook some food. While engaged in the operation, he happened to ask the man where he could find salt. To his horror the sick man reached out a hand to the far corner of the room, some yards away, to take the salt. The *chaprassi* perceiving that this was a dead body possessed by a ghost, fled in terror, pursued over some mustard-fields by the ghost. The next morning he ventured back, with some friends, to the place, and they found the body lying dead, but between its toes were the yellow mustard flowers.

showing that it had passed through the mustard crop in pursuit of the *chaprassi*.

When a person swoons for a time and then returns to consciousness, it is believed that his soul has been taken to Dharm-ráj or Yama, the king of the dead, by the messengers of that grisly monarch, who, on having it presented before him, declares that a mistake has been made—they have brought the wrong man—and they are reproved and ordered to restore the soul to its former tenement, and call the right person in his place. Hence the man recovers and someone else dies.

Perhaps the weirdest narrations of the kind that one has met with in conversation with the people in Kumaon are stories of the rebirth of souls. Some years ago a number of people died of cholera at Ramnagar and other places, on the way up from the great Hardwar fair. As there was not enough fuel to consume their bodies, only a little fire was laid on their foreheads, and they were left in the jungle. Their relatives and friends on arriving home performed their funeral rites fully, and one has been gravely assured that five or six cases have been known at Almora of men who returned to that place after being dead, and were restored to their proper form by the use of appropriate rites. The birth ceremony, tonsure, naming, and sacred thread ceremonies were performed in turn for them and they were then admitted into caste as ordinary members of society. This was told me independently, but I was interested to find the matter reported in that excellent, now defunct, periodical "Punjab Notes and Queries" and quoted by no less an authority than Dr. J. G. Frazer in his famous "Golden Bough," where we are further informed that a man erroneously supposed deceased in ancient India was treated as dead to society until he had gone through the form of being born again. In ancient Greece he was washed, dressed in swaddling clothes, and put out to nurse, and not until then could he mix with living folk. (Golden Bough, vol. I, p. 22).

## FOLKLORE OF PLANTS AND TREES.

Wordsworth has recorded of that dull person, Peter Bell, that

‘ A primrose by a river’s brim,  
‘ A yellow primrose was to him,  
‘ And it was nothing more.’

The Kumaon peasant is not so matter-of-fact; he sees strange potencies in many familiar-looking forms of plant-life, and his ideas cast light on some old superstitions of our own. The Scots have a rhyming proverb, “ Rowan, ash, and red thread, keep the devils from their speed,” and certain plants or herbs are counted lucky in various parts of Britain, as the myrtle, which in Somerset is kept in windows as a lucky plant. In Kumaon the nettle is a protective against evil spirits, and a twig of it is taken with young children when going abroad. Thorny plants, like the *timur*, are credited with the same power. Mustard-seed is used in exorcisms, to get rid of disease or avert the evil eye. Certain trees and plants are regarded as having supernatural qualities. An autumnal wild plant of a single stalk called *Yukanbir* (single hero), is said to become a ghost at night, and is sometimes seen at midnight increased to a stupendous size. If worshipped during the daytime and invoked at night, the ghost embodied in the plant will become the slave of the worshipper, provided he is bold enough to seize and hold it. It will accomplish every desire of the sorcerer who has acquired power over it. The small seeds of the plant are also counted highly efficacious in magic, and are used along with mustard-seed by exorcists.

The sacredness of the pipal tree is well known. Its root is said to be inhabited by Brahma, its trunk by Shiva, and its boughs by Vishnu. The women of Kumaon are wont to worship the pipal tree on Saturday morning, because under it there lives a goddess Alakshmi (meaning poverty or misfortune), who is visited on that day by her sister the goddess of good fortune Lakshmi. Another

explanation offered is that the tree is the elder sister of Lakshmi.

According to a popular estimate of trees and plants, they are divided into classes : those of good shape are called Brahmans, large trees or plants are Kshatriyas, useful or profitable ones Vaishya, and evil or mean ones sudra or Dom. A demon origin is ascribed to many while others are thought to be of divine nature. The *másh* grain is of great efficacy when children are ill by possession. A small loaf of it is waved round the head of the child, then grains of *másh* are thrown where four roads meet, and a lamp is lighted (it must be within sight of the snowy range). It is supposed that a *pari* or fairy takes them away, and with them the evil effects.

The wild edible vegetable *Kairua*, found in the month of May, has some curious taboo connected with it. A woman who has an elder brother is not allowed to pluck it, except at the time when he gives her *betauli*—a custom by which the sister gives sweetmeat to the brother and receives money in return.

The *kharak* tree (*celtis australis*) has a bad reputation, as its roots burrow in walls and damage buildings. It is also feared for superstitious reasons, and children are forbidden to go near it, as it is the abode of demons. The *Betaun*, a tree with hard wood, is a ghost tree. Hence it is removed from the vicinity of houses and its wood is not used for ordinary furniture. It is said to shriek at night (reminding one of the superstition about mandrakes), and whoever hears its cry is sure to die. A similar belief attaches to the *Kairua* just mentioned.

Certain trees were in Europe worshipped anciently as fire trees, or sacred repositories of fire. Such was the oak, and the cult of Zeus at Dodona is supposed to have had some such origin. Here the plant called *Shami*, which grows on low banks by rivers, is considered sacred, because fire is produced by rubbing two sticks of it together.



The cocoa-nut when offered in certain sacrifices has been supposed by some to be a substitute for human sacrifice. The Kumaon folk-saying about it may be held to support the surmise. They say it ranks as a human being in sacrifice, because it was intended by the Creator at first for a human head, with its two eyeholes and mouth, but was later disapproved of and turned into a fruit.

Just as in Europe the Virgin Mary's name is given to many plants, so here they are identified with Sita. A species of long grass seen hanging from rocks (*sacharum spontaneum*), incorrectly called *Kush* grass by the hill-people, and used for thatching and for mats and string, is called Sita's hair. A curious fact about the *chir* or pine tree is that when cut it does not give forth fresh shoots. This is accounted for by a story that when Rama was in search of Sita he asked, among other trees, the pine tree, as to the whereabouts of his wife. The pine answered that it did not know, as it was always being blown about by the wind. Rama pronounced on it the curse that it should never produce shoots when cut down. The Himalayan oak (*bánj*) also refused to tell, and was cursed to be of use only for burning. The wild-cherry (*padam*) supplied the desired information, and was blessed by Rama, and therefore remains evergreen. The wild-cherry is sacred to Vishnu and is regarded as holy, its leaves being offered to the deities in worship. The wild rose (*kunja*) gave grateful shade to Rama, and was declared by him to be the king of the forest. One tree, it is said, will spread over two square miles by climbing and twisting over other trees.

The puff ball fungus (*taragu*) is called the refuse of stars, and is believed to fall from the sky in meteoric flashes.

#### ANIMAL FOLKLORE.

A snake's life extends to twelve years, after which it turns into a partridge (*titira*). The partridge lives for twelve years and then turns back into a snake. So when

the partridge is eaten, its head is always left, as it is believed to contain poison. This idea probably arose from a fanciful resemblance between the head of a snake and that of a partridge, so potent in the region of folklore is mere association of ideas. Money and other treasure after being concealed for ages turns into a serpent. Hence snakes are seen about old buildings. If such a serpent is kept for some time it will turn into a man. This mingling of serpentine and human forms is found also in the classical age of Europe. It was as a snake that the spirit of Anchises appeared and accepted the offerings of the pious Aeneas.

The dog, the vehicle of Bhairava, is regarded by the Khassiyas of Kumaon as of divine nature, protecting a house from evil spirits by its barking, and being a well-wisher of mankind. It wishes for more people in the household that it may get more food, as each member of the family is accustomed to save something from meals and give it to the dogs in the courtyard. The cat on the other hand is of morose and demonic nature, and people do not drink water it has touched. In its heart it wishes that all the people in the house would become blind, as then it would have ample opportunity of stealing the milk, curds, and ghi. The goat, although used for sacrifice, is also inauspicious, because it wishes that all the houses were ruined, and then it would spring from one broken wall to another. Its jaws are not cooked by Brahmans, but Mahomedans use them, thinking they give strength, being powerful in themselves. Women, for some reason, are forbidden to split the head of a slaughtered goat.

The lizard is regarded as an emblem of slothful inefficiency. In the cold nights of winter it shivers and vows that on the morrow it will build a proper house for itself and its family, but when the morrow comes it lies on a stone in the sunshine, and says it is too hot to do any work. It nods its head hypocritically to a spider saying "Wait for me; wait for me." The frog in Kumaon folklore is a

somewhat querulous character, apt to suffer from wounded pride. The lizard once said to the frog, "O Baujee" (a term of respect meaning elder brother's wife), "please let me pass" The frog, much gratified, replied, "Thank you; you always address me politely, but that confounded Táná-máná (meaning the snake) always curses me." (Táná-máná is an abusive epithet signifying threads of cloth). The fire fly (*jainanyá*) is reckoned a good little creature, though rather officious. It says "O God, with lighted torch I go here and there in the night, trying to count how many people there are, but I can find very few." The common fly is a person who can never get over having witnessed the great battle of the Mahabharat (*Kuru-kshetra*) long ago "Ah, that was *some* fighting," he says, as he rubs his little hands together. It is in such folk-sayings as these that we find "the touch of Nature that makes the whole world kin." We can hear the young Khassiya mother prattling to her child, or the village patriarch amusing his grand-children.

The stories and sayings about *birds* are numerous and most interesting. There is a long poem in which a popular story has been versified by a Kumaoni poet, and in it nearly all the varieties of birds known in the province are named. It is believed that some people can nowadays understand the language of animals (*pashu-bhasha*) Our common phrase "A little bird told me" may be remotely traced to such an idea. An old Indian friend of mine was told gravely by a villager that he knew it, but on being urged to disclose the secret he replied that it had been taught him by Mahadeo and Parvati, and that if he revealed the mystery he would at once die. The woodpecker in a former stage of existence was a carpenter, and still pursues his task, impressed with the idea that there is nothing like timber; but others say that he was a blacksmith, and yet others assert that he was once a burglar. In the spring-time he chirps "Hot, hot, hot!" "Plough up your land"—from the Pahari word *hotna*, to

plough. Very ancient superstitions in Europe are associated with the raven, cuckoo, wren, etc. The following birds are reckoned as more or less magical or divine in these hills: the Nilkanth or blue jay. Also the Baunnya or Bauntya, a kind of partridge which has a curious trick of stopping and dancing about. The Lampuchiyá (long-tailed bird or ribbon bird) is said to be the wife of the nightingale, and is identified with the planet Saturn and with falling meteors. The Lumuriyá chíl, a species of kite (with a small pendent tail), is said to be sprung from Garúd, the vulture god, and to be a spy of Yama. As in Europe in the case of the so-called "lightning birds," any bird with red feathers is highly considered, such as the ráí (nightingale), the male and female of which species are said to lay eggs alternately, though the male bird always calls the female to take the trouble of hatching the eggs. The red water snake, by the way, is also in high repute, and is worshipped, and to kill one is equal to the slaughter of a hundred kine. The fact of the cuckoo's eggs being found along with those of other birds has been observed, but, in stories one meets with here, a curious reversal of judgment takes place the other birds are counted the offenders, laying their eggs in the poor cuckoo's nest. The partridge (chakhurá) says "Chakh, Chakh," meaning "Taste!" It is calling to the other birds to sip the rays of the moon. It is regarded as a moon-bird, and is kept in houses as a protection against spells and witchcraft. The tilvuá, a shy bird with long legs, is an emblem of well-meaning but futile endeavour. It sleeps with its pathetic little feet directed upward, it is believed with the idea of preventing the sky from falling down on the earth.

#### KHAS-BACHAN.

There are vast numbers of riddles and similitudes prevalent in the province, dealing with the peculiarities of animals and plants. Some of these, known as *Rishi-bachan*, or sayings of the sages, are of an edifying nature,

and usually derived from the Sanskrit shastras. The common ones are called Khas-bachan, or popular sayings (sayings of the Khassiyas or hill-cultivators). Doubtless they help to wile away the long winter evenings in many a Himalayan village. I give one or two samples. Pár dhár men adhuk roto, half a chupatty on the mountain or ridge there : the half moon. I bear such a heavy load that I cannot hold my head up : the *kauni* millet. A dog made of wood barks on any side it is beaten : a drum. From one thán of cloth has 1,600 garments : the bhutta or Indian corn. Fair and clad in green, wearing nine laes of pearls, I stand in the king's garden with folded hands : the Indian corn. Very small, with tiny teeth, but the cursed thing has made my son weep : the nettle. A green field with 32 posts in it : the leaf platter pegged together with sticks or thorns. A leper buried in the ground : ginger with its distorted root. A bird with one wing flew to the snows : the pine seed with its single blade. An example of a *Rishi-bachan*, repeated for moral instruction, is an extract from the Bhagavat Puran, the 24 lessons drawn from different worldly objects by the holy Dattatreya (Skandha II, ch. 7). No. 1 is the earth, an example to us for its utter forbearance of all wrongs and its generous unfailing gifts. No. 4 is water, soft, bright, and comforting, pure in itself it cleanses all things, so should the saint purify the hearts of men from sin and ignorance. No. 6 is the moon, which changes and fades but returns again, as the soul (átmá) in all its vicissitudes remains imperishable, and thus nightly to the listening earth the silvery moon still preaches of immortality. No. 15 is the deer, fair and delicate but easily deceived, which hunters charm with the music of a harp, till, fascinated, it stands, and lets them slay it with their cruel arrows. Thus silly souls listen to evil songs, till, like stricken deer, they are ruined.

#### APOLOGUES AND FACETIOUS TALES.

There are many stories current, of which I already

possess a large number, describing the doings of animals and their tricks played on each other. The subtle devices of the fox and the jackal are favourite themes. Most of these stories are marked by a kind of humour, sometimes homely, sometimes grotesque. I give one short specimen, illustrative of the power of "bluff."

A male fox and his vixen felt the need of a home. The fox took a look round and found a tiger's den handy, in which he installed his wife. A young cub was born ere long, and for some days they lived in comfort, till one day the tiger came roaring towards his cave. The vixen exclaimed to her husband "Is it not just like you to make an arrangement like this—putting us in a tiger's den! What shall we do now?" "Don't be afraid," replied the fox, "wait and see." Going out into the open he shouted to his wife inside, "Ai Shyám Sundari (Mrs. Reynard), what are the children crying for?" The clever wife, entering into the plot, thereupon squeezed the baby and made it howl. "What are the children crying for? Why, they won't eat any more stale tiger flesh: they want a nice fresh one." On hearing this the tiger fled in great alarm. On his way he met a long-tailed monkey (langúr), who asked him why he was running away. He related his story. The langúr, who is a bit of a cynic, laughed and said, "Why, you págal, it's only a fox: what are you afraid of? Come along back with me." The tiger was too frightened to go, so the langúr to encourage him, tied their tails together, and they ventured back to the cave. When they got near, the fox again jumped out, and cried "O brother monkey, you promised you would bring us seven tigers, but I see you have got only one tied there." The tiger, in uncontrollable terror, dashed off, dragging the monkey behind him. When he had run some distance he looked round, and seeing the monkey as he thought grinning at him—in reality it was dead and showing its teeth—he beat it, and tearing himself from it, fled for miles and miles into the jungle.

## POPULAR SONGS AND BALLADS.

Had time permitted, it was my intention to give a few specimens of popular songs, as distinct from religious hymns or dramas. The *Jwára* is a musical dialogue, as, for example, between a man and his wife, of a humorous turn. These songs have curious complicated refrains, and are sung to the accompaniment of small drums called *hurká*. The singers and chorus dance with drum in hand at the conclusion of each verse or stanza, so that the performance is often a lengthy one. One of these, which I have taken down, not inaptly represents the course of a conversation between a husband and wife, the latter trying to wheedle her spouse into staying at home when he wishes to go to the Plains (Bhabar) to make some money in the winter time in order to pay his debts. The last argument which she uses is a coquettish one and may be supposed to have been effectual. She tells him "If you don't come back, there are thousands of men who will feed me." The first line of each stanza consists of a varying refrain, that rhymes with the next line. Sometimes the song has a personal and rather libellous allusion, the name of some well-known person being introduced. Occasionally in burlesque love-songs known as *chákhali-mákhali*, which also take the dialogue form, a youth is disguised to represent the lady. One cannot but remark the limitation of themes and natural sentiments due to the absence of the element of unmarried courtship and free converse of the sexes. It is an interesting speculation how far these village dialogues, as in ancient Greece, have been the forerunners of the drama, in its characteristic Indian form of musical comedy.

So ends this brief and imperfect sketch of the Folklore of Kumaon, in which my object has been rather to arouse interest in the subject, and suggest lines of original research, than to treat any part of it exhaustively. I shall be satisfied if I have done something to show that it is only through sympathy that we can hope to understand "the soul of a people," and in bringing to light these quaint or

pleasing fancies, have suggested how closely related are all men in spite of our accidental differences, like these fellow-mortals in Kumaon, who as they journey through life, have found courage to live, by transmuting its poverty and commonplace through the power of imaginative joy. That there is a pathetic side to all this, and other, deeper considerations, which for once have been left out of view, we are none of us unaware, but I think it is a sufficient and not unworthy motive of this playful by-product of one's life-work to appeal to the general "human heart by which we live," whether as Europeans or as Indians, and call to mind that in the great purpose of God all nations of mankind are made of one blood, of one heart and mind, to dwell together on the earth, and fulfil one high united destiny.





## *SOME REMARKS ON THE MUGHAL CURRENCY.*

By C. J. BROWN, Professor of English at the  
Canning College, Lucknow.

**T**HE coinage of the Mughal Emperors may in general be said to be a local coinage, that is to say, the coins were struck in a number of different towns or districts the name of which they bear; a few coins of Akbar and Jahāngīr are mintless. But in another sense all Mughal coins are imperial, that is to say, all the various mints were under the direct control of the Emperor or his representative, and the privilege of coining was strictly guarded, at least so far as gold and silver were concerned, until in the time of Farrukhsiyar a new system of farming out the mints was introduced.<sup>1</sup>

But although it is generally true to say that the Mughal coinages are local, this may be qualified in one or two ways. Not all coins were intended for general local use; nor were all coins bearing the name of a mint coined at that mint in the regular way, and a few coins were not coined in the mint the name of which they bear.

In this paper I shall endeavour to put forward a few suggestions on such irregularities as have come to my notice during a fairly close study of a large number of Mughal coins of different periods.

Now we may perhaps divide Mughal coins into three groups:—

- (1) Coins minted for regular currency in the regular way, that is, for use in the first place in the town or district whose name they bear.

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1. A historical sketch of the Benares Mint by Mr Barlow in the Calcutta Mint Committee's Proceedings, 1792 Quoted by E. Thurston Note on the History of the East India Company's Coinage, 1753—1835, J.A.S.B., 1893, p. 55.

- (2) Coins minted for the Emperor's particular use, or to satisfy some special fancy, or to commemorate some special event: not all of these were in regular use as money, but it is difficult to draw a hard and fast line between coins of this class which formed part of the regular currency, and those which were in the nature of medals, or presentation pieces.
- (3) Coins minted for ordinary circulation but under extraordinary circumstances

There is no need to dwell upon group (1) here, so we will proceed at once to group (2)—but a few preliminary remarks are necessary

The *rupee* was the standard coin of the Mughal notwithstanding the curious fact that the revenue was reckoned in copper *dāms*. The *mohar* was to be found chiefly in the houses of the nobles, and it must have been largely used for *nazar* or in presents from the Emperor, or as a convenient form for hoarding. (The East India Company *mohars* are employed in *nazar* to this day.) Copper was after the reign of Akbar not coined in large quantities,<sup>1</sup> and it tended to assume the form and standard most convenient for the district in which it circulated, and was probably less carefully controlled. These conditions relative to gold and silver must be taken into account in determining the character of the coins included in this group. Another point to be remembered is the special interest which Akbar and particularly the virtuoso Jahāngīr displayed in the coinage. Consequently most coins of this group will belong to these two reigns.

We shall have no hesitation in placing in group (2) the gigantic coins mentioned by Abu-l Fazl<sup>2</sup>—the *sihansah* or 100 *mohar* piece, the *rahas* (50 *mohars*), the *binsat*

<sup>1</sup> According to De Laet, quoted by Vincent Smith, "The Treasure of Akbar, J.R.A.S., 1915, p. 237, there were 230 000,000 *pasā* in the Royal Treasury at Agra. This would account in great measure for the scarcity of copper of the later Mughals.

<sup>2</sup> *Ain-i-Akbarī*. Blochmann's Translation I. 31.

## 154 *SOME REMARKS ON MUGHAL CURRENCY*

(20 *mohars*), and Jahāngīr's *nūr shāhī* (100 tola *mohar*), *nūr karam* (10 tola *mohar*), *nūr mihr* (5 tola *mohar*),<sup>1</sup> etc., etc. These were used for presentation only. Jahāngīr tells us of a gold *mohar* of 1,000 tolas which he presented to Yādgar 'Alī Khān, ambassador of the ruler of Irān.<sup>2</sup> Few have survived: there is a cast of a 200 *mohar* piece of Shāh Jahān in the British Museum.<sup>3</sup> Of this nature, too, probably, were the gold and silver *tankas* Jahāngīr struck at Kambāyat (Cambay) in the month Dī 1027 A.H.,<sup>4</sup> of which also none have survived.

But there are smaller coins of which we have many extant examples, used for largesse, the silver *nūr afshāns* ("light-scattering"), 1/20th rupee in value, and *khair qabūls* (= "May these alms be accepted"), both struck by Jahāngīr, and the *niṣārs* in gold and silver by Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān, Aurangzeb and Jahāndār. These came from a variety of mints, and were either scattered by the Emperor, or handed over to some trusted officer to present to the poor or to faqirs.<sup>5</sup> The following though less certain instances were probably, on account of their exceptional nature and rarity, used for presentation. The unique gold memorial *mohar* in the possession of Mr. H. Nelson Wright with the head of Akbar on the obverse, and the sun on the reverse. It has no inscription but is believed

<sup>1</sup> *Tūzak-i-Jahāngīrī*, Trans. Rogers. and Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 10: there is a *Nūr Mihr* in the British Museum of Agra, 1028—14 R. q. pl. IX, No. 305 in the British Museum Catalogue of Mughal Coins.

<sup>2</sup> *Tūzak-i-Jahāngīrī*, Vol. I, p. 237.

Mr. W. Hawkins' account of the treasures of Jahāngīr (*Purchas* I, p. 217) quoted in Thomas' "Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire," p. 24, Note 1. A list of huge coins in Jahāngīr's treasury is given: it includes 20,000 gold pieces of 1,000 Rs. each, 500 of 10,000 Rs. each, 30,000 of 20 tolas, 25,000 of 10 tolas, 50,000 of 5 tolas; and among silver coins 50,000 pieces of 100 tolas, 1,00,000 of 50 tolas, 40,000 of 30 tolas, 30,000 of 20 tolas, 20,000 of 10 tolas, and 25,000 of 5 tolas. Mr. S. B. Smith has suggested that these huge coins were merely a convenient form in which to keep bullion; and that sometimes the Emperor presented them as gifts. This seems to me very probable. Coins over five tolas must have been cast not struck.

<sup>3</sup> B.M.C. Introduction, p. LXXXVII.

<sup>4</sup> *Tūzak-i-Jahāngīrī*, Vol. I p. 417.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I p. 247.

to have been struck by Jahāngīr in memory of his father. The Zodiacal Gemini rupee of the 15th year struck at Kashmīr<sup>1</sup> during Jahāngīr's stay there, the Capricornus rupee of Fathpūr of 1028-14R.,<sup>2</sup> and probably the very rare Zodiacal mohars and rupees bearing the name of Nūr Jahān from the Ajmere and Lahore Mints were used in presentation from the Emperor to courtiers or to the ladies of the Zenana.

With regard to the remaining Zodiacal coins: the rupees of Aḥmadābād of 1027-13R., Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer and Leo were minted during the period of Jahāngīr's stay in the neighbourhood of Aḥmadābād, and were almost certainly in general use, as many worn specimens prove. The Zodiacal mohars of Agra 1028-14R.—1031-17R. may also have had a general currency, as there appear to have been no other mohars minted in Agra during that period, but it is scarcely likely that the Bacchanalian mohars struck at Ajmere in 1023 were ordinarily current.

Among commemorative pieces may be mentioned the famous Hawk mohar of Asīr of Akbar's 45th year, celebrating his capture of the strong fort of Asīrgarh,<sup>3</sup> the Muḥammadābād Udaipūr mohar commemorating Akbar's conquest of that place in 984 A.H.,<sup>4</sup> the rare couplet rupee of Ajmere of 1024 which probably commemorates the victory of Prince Khurra'n over the Rāna of Udaipūr,<sup>5</sup> and the mohars and rupees struck at Shāhjahānābād in the year 1219 A.H.<sup>6</sup> with the inscription surrounded by a wreath of roses, shamrocks and thistles celebrating Lord Lake's entry

<sup>1</sup> Indian Museum Catalogue, Vol. III. No. 696.

<sup>2</sup> Whitehead "Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors," J.A.S.B., 1912, p. 430.

<sup>3</sup> B.M.C., pl. V., 166.

<sup>4</sup> B.M.C., pl. III., No. 63.

<sup>5</sup> Published in J.A.S.B. Numismatic Supplement, No. XXVI, §156.—The couplet is

\* در اجمیر زن سکه فتح بر زر  
\* جہا نگیر شاہ شہنشاہ اکبر

"At Ajmere struck on gold the coin of victory—Jahāngīr Shāh Shahan Shāh Akbar's Son."

<sup>6</sup> B.M.C., pl. XXVII., No. 1110.

## 156 *SOME REMARKS ON MUGHAL CURRENCY*

into Delhi in the year 1803 (1218 A.H.). The first two of these were probably not in general circulation because (1) they are exceedingly rare, (2) they are gold mohars, (3) no other coins in gold or silver are known from those mints: they may have been presents to courtiers or the army. The rupees of Ajmere were probably in circulation but the number must have been limited: the Shāhjahānābād pieces were in ordinary circulation.<sup>1</sup> Finally I should like to call attention to a group of coins struck between Jahāngīr's 5th and 14th years, all of which exhibit Jahāngīr's artistic taste. Some of these have been already mentioned, the rest all merit special notice. With one exception they were struck at places where Jahāngīr was residing or stopping at the time, as the following chronological table taken from the *Tuzak-i-Jahāngīrī* will show:—

CHRONOLOGY.	NUMISMATIC HISTORY.
1019. 5th Zī-l-hijja Jahāngīr returns to Agra from Lahore	1019-5R. Mihr—1020-6R. Farwardīn. Couplet mohars and rupees struck with a fresh couplet each month at Agra.
1019. 11 Ardibehisht. Ilahī dates substituted for hijrī dates in the <i>Tūzak</i>	1019-5R. Bahman—1020-6R. Khūrdād. A similar couplet series of rupees struck at Lahore
1020. 11 Khūrdād Jahāngīr marries Nūr Mahall (not in the <i>Tūzak</i> )	
1022. 21 Shahrewar. Jahāngīr leaves Agra with his full camp	
26 Abān, arrives in Ajmere.	
1024. News of the defeat of the Rāna of Udaipūr reaches Ajmere.	1023-8-1023-9. Bacchanalian mohars. <sup>2</sup>
26 Bahman arrival of Prince Khurram at Ajmere.	1023-9. First couplet rupee of Ajmere. <sup>3</sup>
1025. Farwardīn: Nūr Mahall given the title of Nūr Jahān.	1024. The 'Sikka Fateh' couplet rupee of Ajmere.
21 Abān Jahāngīr leaves Ajmere for the Dakkan.	1025-11. First couplet rupee again struck but with different arrangement of the legend. <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The difficulty of ascertaining how far such coins were in ordinary circulation is accentuated by the fact that there has always been a tendency in India to hoard coins of unusual appearance

<sup>2</sup> B.M.C., pl. IX., No. 318-319.

<sup>3</sup> P.M.C., No. 920.

<sup>4</sup> In the Lucknow Museum.

## SOME REMARKS ON MUGHAL CURRENCY 157

### CHRONOLOGY.

- 4 Azar : a 10 days' halt at Rāmsar, a village belonging to Nūr Jahān : she gives a great feast.
1026. 22 Isfandārmuz : Jahāngīr enters Mandū  
Khurram arrives at the royal camp from the Dakkan and is styled Shāh Jahān.
1026. 18 Abān ; Jahāngīr leaves Mandū.  
8 Dī : arrives at Khambāyat (Cambay).
1027. 15 Dī = Nauroz 1027.  
25 Dī arrives in Ahmadābād Remains in Ahmadābād and the neighbourhood until 25th Shahrewar 13R. (the advance camp had started on 7th).
1028. 19 Dī : Jahāngīr reaches Fathpūr-Sikrī and remains in the neighbourhood.
- 1 Ardibihisht (14R.) : State Entry into Agra.

### NUMISMATIC HISTORY.

- 1025-11. Couplet rupee of Urdū dar rāh-i-Dakkan—probably struck at Rāmsar.<sup>1</sup>
- 1026-12. The couplet mohar of Mandū.<sup>2</sup>
1027. Nauroz ; orders gold and silver tankas to be struck (none extant).<sup>3</sup>
1027. 13R. Farwardīn-Khūrdād : Zodiacal rupees of Ahmadābād struck.
1028. 14R. Farwardīn —Zodiac mohars of Agra commence.

With regard to the coins mentioned above the following remarks may be made. Not all the months in the Agra series are represented by extant specimens of rupees and mohars : but those which do exist<sup>4</sup> represent the "culminating point of excellence in the Mughal Series" All six months are known of the Lahore Series, and in both cases the coins are minted alternately square and round for successive months, a practice which continues for some years in the Agra mint Each couplet contains the name of the month and the mint, and the design is peculiar to each variety.

<sup>1</sup> As 1025 A.H. ended on 25th Dī, regnal year 11 ; the only other probable place was a camping spot near Rantambhor, where Jahāngīr stopped on 10th Dī when he was visited by the sons of Rāja Maha Singh.

<sup>2</sup> P.M.C., No. 918.

<sup>3</sup> Tūzak-i-Jahangīrī, Vol. I, p. 417.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. No. 894-895 P.M.C. mohars of Abān 1019-5R. and Farwardīn 1020-6R. the couplet on the latter is as follows --

\* بفروردین از آگره فروزان کشف چون اختر

\* زلور سکه شاه جهانگیر ابن شاه اکبر

"In Farwardīn the gold of Agra became luminous like a star, by the light of the Stamp of Shāh, Jahāngīr, son of Akbar Shāh."

It may be mentioned here that as Agra and Lahore were the two chief residences of Jahāngīr, so also they were the principal mints during his reign and that of his father. This could be deduced from the very full series of coins that issue from these mints. Great reserves of treasure must also have been deposited in them, for in 1016 we find Jahāngīr sending from Kābul a firman to Qilij Khān to despatch 1,70,000 rupees from the Lahore treasury for the expenses of the army in Qandahār.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the Bacchanalian mohars and the couplet rupees of Ajmere, the rupee of Urdū-dar-rāh-i-Dakkan and the Mandū mohar, a comparison of these will, I think, reveal a close similarity of style, and as these are the sole representative coins of these mints in gold and silver for his reign, and as we know one of them must have been struck by his camp mint, it seems fair to conclude that they were all so struck. In addition there is a copper *rawāne* of Ajmere of 1024<sup>2</sup> which closely resembles the *rawānes* of Agra, whence Jahāngīr must have taken his die-cutters. One of the Bacchanalian mohars is inscribed with this couplet.

قضا بر سکه زد کرد تصویر \* شهنیه حضرت شاه جهانگیر  
حروف جهانگیر والله اکبر \* زروز ازل در عدد شد برابر

Destiny on coin of gold has drawn

The portrait of His Majesty Shāh Jahāngīr :

The letters of Jahāngīr and Allahu Akbar.

Are equal in value from the beginning of time.

In the 'Tūzak' Jahāngīr tells us the origin of this. At the time of his arrival at Ajmere a man was brought 'who represented to me that the name Jahāngīr according to the science of abjad (numerals reckoned by letters), corresponded to the great name "Allah Akbar." Considering this a good omen, I gave him who discovered (this coincidence) land, a horse, cash and clothing.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tūzak-i-Jahāngīr, Vol. I, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> P.M.C., No. 1189.

<sup>3</sup> Tūzak-i-Jahāngīr, Vol. I, p. 253 : both Jahāngīr and Allahu Akbar yield 288,



As the couplet rupee of 1024 of Ajmere seems to have reference to Prince Khurram, so also the mohar of Mandū would seem to be connected with the arrival of the Prince from the Dakkan on 20th Mihr 1026. On the 27th Mihr 'Nur Jahān Begam gave a feast of victory for my son Shāh Jahān' (he had received the new title on the 20th), and this appears to me the occasion of its being struck, for it would give particular point to the introduction of the Begam's name into the couplet, which is as follows:—

بنور جهانی دمد یر تو چو مهر و ماه \*  
سکه مذور ز نام جهانگیر شاه \*

With the light of the world gave rays like the sun  
and moon

Coin of Mandū from the name of Jahāngīr Shāh.

Another fancy of the Emperor produced the Zodiacal rupees of Almadābād, which were probably, judging from their style, struck at the Almadābād mint, which ranks next in importance to the mints of Agra and Lahore. Zodiac mohars begin to issue from Agra from the first anniversary of his Coronation after his return to Agra, Farwardīn 1028 14R. How far Nūr Jahān was responsible for these interesting coins we cannot tell, but Jahāngīr distinctly states they were his own invention.<sup>1</sup>

The coins bearing the name of Nūr Jahān begin late in the reign—1033-19R is the earliest date, and with the exception of the very rare Zodiac coins, already alluded to, form part of the ordinary currency, an Allahabad coin of 1037-22 in the writer's collection may be another exception, but it resembles the rest in style.

I have dealt chiefly with the coins of Jahāngīr in this article because they present the most ready illustrations of this group, and because we have his own comments in his memoirs on the coinage from time to time. With Group 3 of my classification which presents several interesting problems, I hope to deal in a subsequent article.

<sup>1</sup> Tuzak-i-Jahāngīrī, Vol. II, p. 6.

## *GAMES AND FESTIVALS OF GARHWAL.*

BY THE HON'BLE PT. TARA DUTT GAIROLA AND  
D. A. BARKER, I.C. S.

*Introduction.*—The Garhwalis are by nature a war-like race. The geographical conditions of their country expose them to foreign invasions, and their history is a record of constant internal and external warfare, both defensive and offensive. The very name Garhwal denotes a country having several forts or “garhs.” According to tradition there were not less than fifty-two fortresses in this hilly tract in former times. Its dominion at one-time extended as far as Tibet, Dehra Dun, Bijnor and Kumaon (Almora and Naini Tal).

Legends of the conquests of these outlying districts by the Garhwali heroes or “bhars,” are sung by the local bards up to the present time. The recital of these “Bharwalis” or “Pawaras,” as they are locally called at all festivals and during the long wintry nights, form the chief pastime of the Garhwalis. Such is the warlike spirit of these songs that the young folk who hear them become hypnotised, as it were, and begin to dance and perform extraordinary feats—such as uprooting trees, carrying huge weights, rushing into the burning fire, eating nettles, earth, etc.

During the months of Phalgun and Chait (spring) at even tide, groups of young folk gather round a fagot on the *Panchayati chauk* and sing beautiful songs in choruses and dance in a most fantastic manner. They become fired, as it were, with the amorous spirit of the spring, and the romantic natural scenery which surrounds them.

It is surprising how Garhwali villagers, young and old, will completely forget themselves and plunge headlong

into the enjoyment of these amusements. It is not an uncommon sight to see very old men and women dancing and singing with the younger villagers on such occasions.

But it is to be regretted that as the struggle for existence becomes more severe and as modern civilization continues to invade the hill tracts, the Garhwalis are giving up their old games and festivals. Now it is only in the remote interior of the hills that the primitive social life of the people can be seen. The modernized Garhwali feels ashamed to sing and dance in the way his heroic ancestors did. But the backward villagers from whom our soldiers are mainly recruited, still indulge in these primitive pastimes and are fully imbued with their heroic spirit.

In the following pages some of the most important games and festivals of the Garhwalis will be described.

### THE BEDA OR BAST

With regard to the origin of this game there is a legend which runs as follows. - When the God Vishnu had distributed all his bounties amongst his creatures, He forgot to give anything to the class of human beings called the *Bádís* (a subcaste of Doms who are professional dancers and jesters). On this the *Bádís* approached the deity in a body and propitiated him by their jests and songs. The God was pleased and gave them the *babar* grass and the bamboo tree to earn their livelihood from. He also said that thenceforward these two articles---the bamboo and the *babar* grass, would be held sacred among men. It is on account of this sanctity that special oaths used to be taken on those articles in former times.

Since that day the *Bádís* use the *babar* grass for making a rope which they use for the *Beda* festival and the bamboo pole for the "Lang," which latter festival will be described later on.

When a *Bádi* wishes to perform the *Beda* ceremony in a village, he goes and throws a rope of *babar* grass on the

*Panchayati chauk* as a sort of offer to perform the ceremony. Then the villagers convene a *Panchayat* and decide to hold the festival. The village *Purohit* fixes an auspicious day for the celebration. The programme is settled. The villagers go in a body to the jungle to fetch *babar* grass for the manufacture of rope. Then for several days the villagers are busy with preparing the rope, which in some cases measures over 1,500 yards in length. During the period the rope is being prepared the *Bádi* entertains the villagers at night with singing and dancing. When the rope is ready it is kept in water for several days. A wooden saddle is also made of *sandan* or walnut wood and soaked in oil.

The *Bádi* as well as the *Padhan* or headman of the village keep fast on the evening previous to the day fixed for the ceremony. On the next morning the village *Purohit* performs worship of the local deities and of Shiva in whose honour the festival is held. The *Bádi* also joins in the worship. Then the rope is carried to the top of the hill overhanging the village in a procession. The *Padhan* then ties one end of the rope round a tree, after performing certain worship, in which the *Bádi* also takes part. The other end of the rope is brought down the hill and tied to another tree down in the valley, preferably on the village field.

After the rope has been tied to the posts a watch is kept over it to prevent an enemy cutting any strings from it.

In the meantime a huge concourse of people assemble from far and wide to witness the ceremony and receive blessings from the *Bádi* who is believed to be, for the time being, a representative of God Shiva. All the while music and dancing goes on for the entertainment of the visitors. The villagers invite their friends and relatives to the festivals and incur heavy expenses in entertaining them. The *Bádi* who has kept fast overnight takes only milk and fruit in the morning. Immediately before the appointed

time he bathes and performs some worship. He then performs his own funeral rites as well as of his ancestors, the idea being that the *Bádi* should be prepared for a fatal accident.

Then the *Bádi* is taken to the upper end of the rope on the *Padhan's* shoulders amidst the beating of drums. On reaching the post a short ceremony is again performed in which prayers are offered to Shiva and to the local deity for the safety of the *Bádi* during the performance.

The wooden saddle is then placed across the rope and the *Bádi* made to sit on it. Two sand bags are then tied on the legs of the *Bádi* to keep him balanced on the rope, and a bandage is tied over his eyes. While this preparation is going on, the wife and other members of the *Bádi's* family, stand at the lower end of the rope and rend the sky with wailings and lamentations.

At the appointed hour the *Bádi* is dropped from the upper post and slips down the rope waving a handkerchief in both his hands and shouting "*Jai Jai*," a cry which is taken up by the whole crowd. The sight is most awe-inspiring and pathetic.

In a few moments the *Bádi* comes down to the lower end where the members of his family are the first to welcome him. He is a veritable hero of the day and immediately the whole crowd rushed towards him to pull out his hair, which is believed to have great efficacy in warding off evil spirits. The *Padhan* and others who keep guard over him stop the people from pulling out the *Bádi's* hair. Sometimes free fights take place on such occasions. The *Padhan* then takes the *Bádi* on his shoulders and carries him to the village. On arrival there a short thanksgiving takes place at which the villagers and other spectators make liberal presents to the *Bádi* and his wife and children, while the latter dance and sing songs in praise of their *Thakurs*, the villagers.

The day is celebrated with great *éclat* and a feast is given to the guests. Goats are freely killed. Thus ends

the great *Beda* or rope riding festival of the Garhwalis.

As sometimes the rope takes fire owing to friction against the wooden saddle, fatal accidents were not unusual. For this reason the rite has been prohibited by Government in British Garhwal. Even in Tehri State it is gradually dying out.

The rite of the *Beda* was probably universal in former times throughout the Himalaya and had its origin no doubt in a sacrificial rite. In the Simla Hill States for instance the rite was common in villages inhabited by Paras Ram Brahmans and was deemed to be unsatisfactory if the victim escaped unhurt. For this reason it was the custom to introduce if possible some flaw into the rope so that the victim should be sure to fall. Even in the more spectacular form of the *Beda* as known in Garhwal there are many evidences that the rite was originally sacrificial. As in the *sana* sacrifice the victim has to be ceremonially pure, and the sacrificer—the *padhan*—has to remain in contact with the victim so as to bridge the gulf between the sacred and profane world. It would be interesting in this connection to know what was done with the body of a *Bádi* who happened to be killed during the performance of the rite. The fact of the lower support of the rope being tied to a tree standing on the village fields seems to indicate as the object of the rite the grant of fertility to the soil. A connection would thus be established between the *Beda* and the now obsolescent custom whereby the inhabitants of a village chase a buffalo over their fields hitting it with axes and knives until it dies. Any field which receives blood from the animal is supposed to be greatly benefited.

### THE DADAMANDI BALL GAME.

This game is associated with the Makar Sankrant—a festival which is largely made the occasion of organised amusements in the Hills. The commercial fairs of Bageswar and Thal Baleswar are held on that day and minor

fairs occur at a number of other places. Two of these, held respectively at Dadamandi and at Thal Nadi, both in the extreme south of the Garhwal district, are accompanied by a strange contest between the inhabitants of the neighbouring *paths*. The game is played on a stretch of 7 or 8 acres of fairly level ground surrounded by a wall about 3 feet high. This ground is used during the rainy season for growing rice so that here and there are terrace walls, though of no great height. The object of each side is to carry the ball over the wall at one or other end of the ground and to obtain possession of it there. Until this possession is attained neither party can win however far they may have carried the play into the territory of their opponents. The ball itself is a more or less spherical bag of leather stuffed with odds and ends of cloth, and weighing a few pounds.

About 2.0 p.m., whilst the fair on the high land above the field of play is still in full swing, there appear on the field two standards accompanied by drummers who beat vigorously for some time without any apparent effect. These are the recruiting stations so to speak of the two sides. Gradually a few of the keener spirits are attracted and gravitate towards their respective standards stripping themselves meanwhile of all clothes save a loin cloth. When about ten or fifteen of these prospective players have collected they endeavour to attract others from the crowd above by cheering and dancing round the standards to the accompaniment of the drums. Then, as the laggards still fail to come, a crowd of stripped men scale the bank from the playing field, rush in amongst the crowd and presently emerge again dragging fresh recruits with them. At last about fifty men on each side have collected. It is now only an hour after the time fixed for the game to begin and numerous men are seen here and there still leisurely divesting themselves of their clothes, but the days in January are still short and it is decided to begin. Suddenly a small knot of brown figures is seen to assemble in the middle of

the field and to it gather all the players who are ready to play. The game has now begun.

The small knot of men soon increases until it becomes a seething mass of struggling players all leaning inwards and pushing towards the centre of the mass where a few of the leaders are engaged in fighting for the possession of the ball. There is no putting down of heads and shoving as in a football "scrum;" the players simply lean against their opponents, though a few on the extreme edge of the scrum push with their hands. Nevertheless the scrum is very dense, so dense that eager players on the outside, anxious to get to the centre of interest, jump into the heads of the crowd and drag themselves over heads and shoulders till they can gradually squeeze into a favourable position near the ball. The game would provide admirable opportunities for "scrum" tactics as practised in Rugby football, but reasoned playing is out of the question, partly because the teams are entirely untrained and undisciplined and partly because of the hampering effect of the spectators who cling close to the outskirts of the scrum, occasionally giving a helping push to their side and occasionally chatting with a player who has fallen out for a few minutes' rest. By now nearly one hundred players on each side are struggling for the ball and the scrum moves hither and thither amidst great excitement. Sometimes it collides with a terrace wall—an admirable opportunity for the players to break their legs—and the spectators hold their breath as the scrum begins to rise, as if in a solid mass, and gradually surges up the rise. The atmosphere in the centre of the scrum is by this time fairly warm, the players are weary with trying to keep their feet and the burden of men, climbing over them to get to the ball, is great. Fainting players are dragged from the seething mass, are laid on their backs and flapped vigorously with cloths by the attendant spectators; but in a few minutes they are back again to the scrum. The standards hover on the edge of the scrum and the drummers of the winning side beat



noisily as the ball moves slowly towards their opponents territory. The mass of men is so great that the scrum moves hither and thither as if neither side had any object in view. Suddenly to the surprise of the spectators, and probably of the players, it rushes towards a side wall and collides with it. Judging from the apparent solidity of the scrum one would expect it to bounce off again, but instead it breaks suddenly up and the players on the wall side leap up on to the wall itself. They are soon pushed off on to the other side, however, and have to content themselves with supporting from below the fellow-players who have displaced them. But now, they are up on the wall again and by flinging themselves from the wall against the side of the scrum they gradually drive it away into more open ground.

Excitement now wanes somewhat. The light is already beginning to fade, the aged, the maimed and the unenthusiastic are gradually donning their clothes and moving away from the field towards their homes. Soon, however, interest is revived by a definite movement on the part of the scrum towards one of the goals. It drives down-hill over the terraces, drives against the boundary wall and is soon amongst the boulders of the dry river bed which constitutes the territory of the losing side. The passage of this dense mass of men over a three-foot stone wall is not without dangers and several of the players are carried out after its accomplishment. Play continues, however, without abatement, for one of the losing side has got hold of the ball and is doubled up over it in the centre of the scrum. Climbing is now at a premium for mere punching is of little avail. The pressure from the sides is somewhat reduced but the pressure from above becomes serious for the central players. At length and none too soon, for the day is almost done, one of the winning side gets hold of the ball and the game is over. The time is 6 P.M. Old men say that the game has sometimes gone on till 8-0 P.M. But that was in the good old days.

## *HAKIM MEHDI.*

By S. B. SMITH, Professor of History at the  
Canning College, Lucknow.

CONSPICUOUS upon the high ground which marks the site of the earliest settlement in Lucknow, and not far from the last resting place of the famous citizen Shah Mina, stands the tomb of the Nawab Muntazim-ud-daula Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan Bahadur; the adjacent imambara, where his brother Hadi Ali Khan was laid to rest, is now no more than a grass-grown mound; and the maqbara itself, though picturesque enough when seen against the setting sun, appears forlorn and dilapidated at a nearer view. More permanent memorials of Hakim Mehdi are to be found up and down upon the face of the country. The fine avenue that runs from Khairabad to Sitapur was first planted by him; he built the handsome bridge at Shahjahanpur, and another over the Katli Nadi near Farrukhabad; his house at Fatehgarh is now the station hospital, and a ghat upon the Ganges still bears his name. Nor did he forget the land of his extraction or his birth—"somewhere in Persia he built a bridge,"<sup>1</sup> and in Kashmir an imambara. In Lucknow he founded the charity known as Radde Mazalim, and his family still administer the interest of Rs. 5,35,000 left in trust for this purpose.

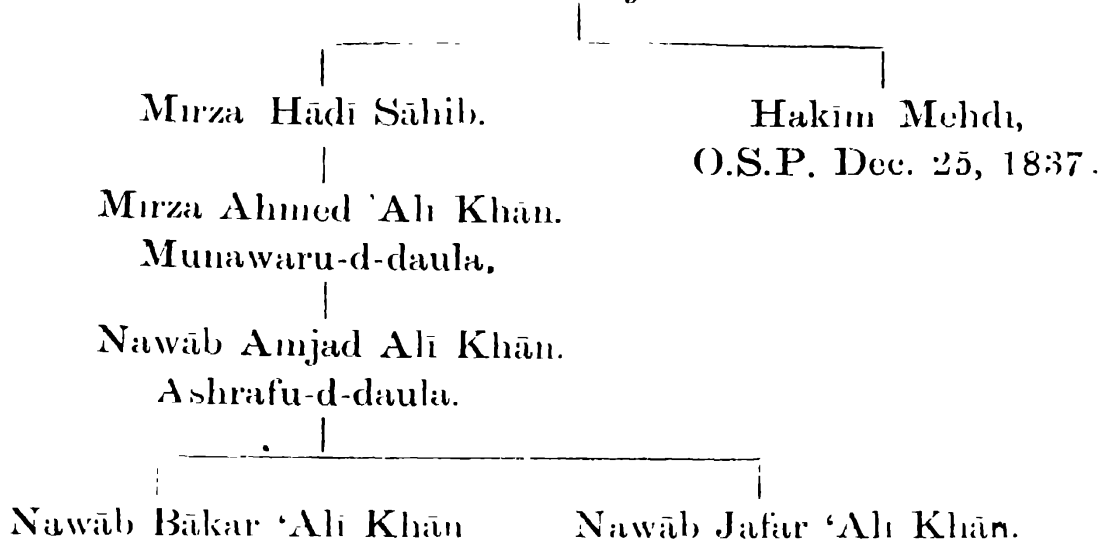
Of his early career little is known. His father Mirza Khwaja Sakhi was a Persian from Tabriz. He settled in

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<sup>1</sup> *Tārīkh-i-Awadh.*

Kashmir and there Hakim Mehdi was born, and hence was known in Lucknow as a Kashmiri. He had one older brother Mirza Hadi Ali Khan, the father of the minister Munawaru-d-daula, whose descendants, the two Nawabs of Shish-Mahal, still dwell in Lucknow.<sup>1</sup>

Mirza Khwāja Sakhi.



The date of Hakim Mehdi's birth is not known, but in 1831 he says of himself "I am an old man, my race is nearly run"<sup>2</sup> and Mrs. Fanny Parks who met him in the same year speaks of him as "an old man, sinking beneath the weight of years"<sup>3</sup> The earliest authentic reference that I have been able to find is the statement of Sleeman<sup>4</sup> that Hakim Mehdi "was employed in the Azimgarh district under Boo Alleë Khan, and during the negotiations for the transfer of that district to the British Government which took place in 1801." After the annexation he returned to Lucknow and in 1804 was appointed Nazim of Mahumdi.

The greater part of Oudh was at this time divided into sixteen chaklas administered under the ijara or contract system. The contractor, known indifferently as Nazim, Amil, Chakladar, or Mustagir, not only compounded

<sup>1</sup> I have to thank Khan Bahadur Abdus-Sam, Nazul Officer, for kindly procuring me the information about the family of Hakim Mehdi from Nawab Jafar Ali Khān.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Lieut. Paton to Mr. Prinsep, July 18, 1831. Oudh Papers, II, 68.

<sup>3</sup> Wanderings in Search of the Picturesque, I, 190.

<sup>4</sup> Journey through the Kingdom of Oudh, II, 74.

for the revenue of his district, but acted as governor with full powers, executive and judicial, supported by a military force.

For the district of Mahumdi Hakim Mehdi agreed to pay Rs. 3,11,000 a year. He continued to dwell in Lucknow, whilst his brother Hadi Ali Khan administered the district with such success that after a few years it was yielding seven lakhs a year. In 1807 Hakim Mehdi acquired the contract for the adjacent district of Khairabad at a jumma of five lakhs. The Marquess of Hastings, who in 1818 passed through Hakim Mehdi's districts, on his way to shoot in the Terai, bears witness to their prosperity under his administration. The country was highly cultivated, not a weed was to be seen, and the people were contented. In reply to his enquiry as to how the peasants were induced to bring so much jungle under cultivation Hakim Mehdi explained "that from the first crop he took nothing, from the second he took a seventh, which he did not augment for two or three years more, till it was seen that the undertaking was decidedly beneficial to the speculator. In that case a fifth of the crop is demanded for government. It is taken in kind, and is the only deduction from the profit of the husbandman. In old cultivated districts a third or a composition for it is demanded by the government."<sup>1</sup> Thirty years later when "the rent-roll of Mahumdi had fallen from seven lakhs of rupees a year under which all the people were happy and prosperous, to one of three under which all the people are wretched" Sleeman found that Hakim Mehdi's name was still treasured in the district with affection and respect.

The Nawab Sadat 'Ali Khan, "who left 14 crores in his treasury and most of his Amils in his dungeons" never interfered with Hakim Mehdi, for he was an able ruler, and unlike his degenerate successors, capable of appreciating ability or honesty in others. He honoured Hakim Mehdi

with his confidence, and "committed to his charge the management of revenue and judicial affairs, and managed the whole of the business of the state in concert with him until his demise."<sup>1</sup> Bishop Heber speaks of him as minister at the time of Sadat 'Ali's death; but there is no record or tradition of his formal appointment to that post. The nominal Minister was Sadat 'Ali Khan's son Samsud-daula; probably Hakim Mehdi acted as deputy for him, just as in the next reign, Agha Mir acted as deputy for the nominal minister Nasir-ud-din.<sup>2</sup>

Sadat 'Ali Khan died July 11th, 1814. Hakim Mehdi, it would appear, continued to act as minister, although the formal appointment of a minister by Ghaziu-d-din was deferred until the Governor-General's visit to Lucknow in the autumn. Unfortunately for Oudh Hakim Mehdi did not get on with the Resident, Major Baillie; and it was probably on his advice that Ghaziu-d-din attempted to have Major Baillie removed, for at a private interview which Ghaziu-d-din had solicited in order to state his complaints against the Resident, he told Hastings that he would put his complaints in writing "and that he referred me for any explanation to Mehdi Ali Khan."<sup>3</sup>

"Ghaziu-d-din complained that Major Baillie dictated to him in the merest trifles, broke in upon him at his palace without notice whensoever he had anything to prescribe, fixed his creatures upon His Excellency with large salaries, to be spies upon all his actions, and above all lowered His Excellency in the eyes of his family and his subjects by the magisterial tone which he constantly assumed."<sup>4</sup> Amongst other petty annoyances he had prevented him from "having the nobut beat at sunrise because the noise of it would disturb the Resident."<sup>5</sup> The Marquess of Hastings was not favourably impressed with

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Nasiru-d-din Haider, dated April 1831, Oudh Papers, II.

<sup>2</sup> Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings, I, 213.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., I, 185-6.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., I, 180.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., I, 206.

Major Baillie and was quite prepared to recall him; he assured the Nawab Wazir "that I considered it no less my official duty than it was my personal inclination to make his authority efficient, and his private position satisfactory."<sup>1</sup> But Ghaziu-d-din lacked the resolution to carry it through. Agha Mir, ("whose known devotion to Major Baillie" Hastings mentions), frightened Ghaziu-d-din into withdrawing all his charges against the Resident. So Major Baillie retained his post, and when the Marquess of Hastings was asked to select a deputy-minister he could only reply "that it would be inconvenient were he (Ghaziu-d-din) to nominate a person whom the Resident represented as systematically adverse to the British Government; as was the case with Mehdi 'Ali Khan."<sup>2</sup>

Agha Mir was appointed instead. So narrowly did Oudh escape an able and honest administration!

Hakim Mehdi continued to dwell in Lucknow and to enjoy the favour of Ghaziu-d-din. He was thus an object of jealousy to Agha Mir, which was all the stronger because, at the beginning of his ministry, his position was not very secure. He therefore jumped at the opportunity of getting rid of Hakim Mehdi, when the latter applied for the contract of Bahraich, offering a lakh more than was paid by the Amil who then held it. The contract was granted and Hakim Mehdi left the capital to take over his new district.

The story of Hakim Mehdi's dealing with the Amil of Bahraich is told by Sleeman and has left a stain upon an honourable career. Amar Singh who had succeeded his father as Amil of Bahraich had amassed a large fortune by good management, and aroused the cupidity of Hakim Mehdi. When he came to take over the district Amar Singh refused to meet him until he had received the most solemn assurances of safety, confirmed with an oath upon the Quran. For some months negotiations were amicably

<sup>1</sup> Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings, I, 183.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., I, 213.

conducted between the old and new amils, until one evening Hakim Mehdi, after a discussion of accounts, on some pretext went out leaving Amar Singh in his tent, where he was immediately set upon and strangled by two of the Hakim's servants. Hakim Mehdi asserted that Amar Singh had poisoned himself, and handed over his body to his family, who found between his teeth the finger of one of his assailants, bitten off in the struggle. Hakim Mehdi appropriated between fifteen and twenty lakhs and escaped being called to account by judicious expenditure, in bribes, of part of the plunder.<sup>1</sup>

The story is unconvincing, and Irwin suggested that it may have been concocted by Agha Mir to discredit his rival. Although Irwin dismisses this possibility it appears more probable than the story as it stands, for no sufficient motive is assigned for a crime which is inconsistent with the whole tenour of Hakim Mehdi's character. He was already a wealthy man, and was not greedy of money for its own sake. Moreover, if he had been guilty it is most improbable that Agha Mir would have let slip this opportunity of attacking him. It is also notable that the Marquess of Hastings, who was accompanied by Hakim Mehdi through his districts from March 17th until April 22nd 1818, does not mention any rumour of this murder, which, it is said, took place "in the end of 1816 or early in 1817."

The favour shown by Hastings to Hakim Mehdi intensified Agha Mir's hostility, and in 1819 he demanded an increase of five lakhs upon his contract. Thereupon Hakim Mehdi, who had gradually been transferring his treasure to Shahjahanpur, in British territory, escaped with his family over the border. According to Heber, Agha Mir "succeeded in having him thrown into prison whence he was only released by the interposition of the British Government."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Journey through the Kingdom of Oudh*, I, 49-53.

<sup>2</sup> *Heber's Journey to India*, II, 80.

For eleven years he lived in exile, at first at Shah-jahanpur, but finding the Sunni Society of that place uncongenial he migrated to Fatehgarh, where he lived in great splendour. Hither, in 1824, he invited Bishop Heber "with the assurance that he had an English house-keeper who knew perfectly well how to do the honours of his establishment to gentlemen of her own nation."<sup>1</sup> The lady in question was the wife of Hakim Mehdi's dewan, who had formerly been a professor of Hindustani at Hertford. Here, too, he entertained Lord Combermere in 1827, when he was described by Captain Mundy as a handsome old man, of courtly address.

During these years Agha Mir, Motamidu-d-daula, ruled in Oudh. Early in his career as minister intrigues prevailed against him and he was for a time imprisoned, but he recovered his position through the intercession of the Padshah Begam, and from this time maintained his ascendancy over Ghaziu-d-din by encouraging him to indulge his taste for intoxicating drugs and liquors "so that he ceased to visit the Resident twice a week as had been his custom and only visited him once in two or three months;" he caused the estrangement between the King and his son and so incurred the enmity of the latter; who is possibly exaggerating when he states that in addition to his salary of Rs. 25,000 p.m. "Agha Mir took from this country the annual sum of Rs. 23,00,000 by his own admission, and Rs. 33,00,000 agreeably to the accounts in the office. The property and jewels of the State which he plundered are out of question. Besides the money which he took away from the treasury during my reign is well known."<sup>2</sup> He steadily resisted every project of reform urged by the British Government, "and yet so able was his administration that in his time the capital and its environs were as safe and well-guarded as any city in India."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Heber's Journey to India, II, 80.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Nasir-ud-din, Oudh Papers, II, No. 21, p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> Maddock on State of Oudh, Oudh Papers, II, p. 27.



On the death of Ghaziu-d-din Agha Mir resigned—but after a show of reconciliation with the King and under the guarantee of the Resident for his personal security he resumed office until December 1827 when he was dismissed.

Nasiru-d-din now intended to appoint Hakim Mehdi and a letter summoning him was actually despatched; the Padshah Begam,<sup>1</sup> however, induced the King to cancel the letter and bestow the office upon a *protege* of her own, Fazl Ali, the reputed father of Mocna Jan. He amassed a fortune of 35 lakhs and resigned in February 1829. During his administration and those of his two successors, Ram Dayal and Akbar Ali, the condition of Oudh went from bad to worse. The streets of Lucknow and the roads in the immediate vicinity were the scene of nightly robberies and murders;<sup>2</sup> there was no system of criminal and civil justice; and though the army which consisted of 40,000 men was scattered over the country to strengthen the hands of the local authorities and secure the payment of revenue it was incapable of performing these duties.<sup>3</sup> At length in deference to repeated representations of the Resident, the King, in June 1830, appointed Hakim Mehdi minister, and gave him the title (amongst many others) of Muntazimu-d-daula by which he is generally known.<sup>4</sup>

Difficulties soon arose between the minister and the Resident. Mr. Maddock was prejudiced against him: he represented him as decidedly inimical to English influence, and wished that he should be either excluded from office or made dependent on himself. In criticism of these views Lord Bentinck writes: "I believe in no such hostility on the part of the minister. He is indisputably one of the ablest men in India, and is not surpassed by any other individual whether European or Native as a Revenue administrator. He saw from the beginning that nothing would satisfy the Resident, but the becoming, to use his own

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<sup>1</sup> The widow of Ghaziu-d-din Haider.  
Sleeman, I, p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> Maddock Memo. on Oudh Affairs, Oudh Papers, March 1832 Reel.

<sup>3</sup> For Hakim Mehdi's titles, *vide* Oudh Papers, II, p. 19.

words, the King of Oudh, and to this inferior position it suited neither his ambition nor his interests to submit. My hope has always been and is, that able as he certainly is beyond all other men to reform the administration, so, cordially assisted by a Resident whose advice, however firm and decided, shall never be wanting in conciliation and respect, he will be equally willing to accomplish this great object."<sup>1</sup>

In pursuance of these views, which had been formed by the Governor-General on the spot, Mr. Maddock was recalled and Major Low was (August 1831) appointed Resident, a post which he was to hold till 1848.

In the meantime serious doubts as to the disinterestedness of Muntazimu-d-daula had been aroused in many quarters, by the grant which he had got from the King of 5 per cent. upon the revenue of the Kingdom, and upon all government disbursements.<sup>2</sup> His own explanation was that he had no intention of appropriating the money, but intended it to accumulate in the treasury, to be presented by him as a gift to the King;—the object of the grant was to establish his influence and authority throughout the Kingdom by proving the high favour he enjoyed.<sup>3</sup> This explanation is borne out by the fact that one of the charges that Nasiru-d-din afterwards made against him was that he had appropriated some of this money.

Muntazimu-d-daula justified Lord Bentinck's faith in him. As soon as he was appointed he had set about the work of reform with energy. In April 1831 the King drew up a memorandum of the reforms already introduced. Public expenditure and superfluous establishments had been reduced; arrears of salaries due for several years had been paid up; he had prepared a book of regulations for the administration of the country and had suppressed the rebels in Mahumdi and Khairabad; already agriculture and trade were showing signs of improvement.

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<sup>1</sup> Minute of July. 1831, Oudh Papers.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Charles Metcalfe's Minute. Oudh Papers, March 1832.

<sup>3</sup> Letter from Lieut. Paton, to Mr. Prinsep, Oudh Papers. II. pp. 69-71.

These reforms had not been carried out unopposed; and when the arrears of the irregular artillery were paid up, preparatory to discharging them, a regular mutiny broke out fomented by the Commander-in-Chief, Muzaffar Ali Khan, and the Padshah Begam.<sup>1</sup>

In July 1831, he had made all preparations for substituting the amani for the farming system throughout the Kingdom. He proposed to retain the existing amils in office as amani managers, placing four collectors over the four divisions of the country, and retaining under his own management the turbulent line of country bordering the Ganges, for five kos inland, where lay most of the jagirs of the King's wives.

One great difficulty in the way of reform was the absence of any class from which reliable subordinates could be obtained. His proposal to appoint Europeans as amils was vetoed by the Governor-General. In reply to the inquiry of the Resident as to whether there were no capable men in the kingdom, "he said he knew none; that here all instruction in business as well as in Arts and Sciences had long ceased; there was no education—no school—no college from whence able men might be obtained. He knew of no Native agents equal to the task before him. . . . it was his opinion that without the counsel and aid of the Resident Oudh could not prosper."<sup>2</sup>

His chief grievance against the British Government was the refusal to allow the Company's troops to assist him in restoring order in the country. The relations between the Company and the Kingdom of Oudh were based upon the treaty of 1801, which stipulated that the Nawab's Government should be defended from foreign and domestic enemies; whilst on his part Sadat 'Ali Khan had engaged "to establish in his reserved dominions such a system of administration, as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and to be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants; and His Excellency will always

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<sup>1</sup> Letter from Resident, dated April 26 1832, O. P., No. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Oudh Papers, June 1831.

advise with and act in conformity to the counsel of the officers of the said Honourable Company." This obligation had been systematically evaded by the rulers of Oudh, and according to the interpretation of the treaty by the English authorities, the defence of the Oudh Government against domestic enemies was dependent on the introduction of a good administration. Here then, was a dilemma. "Hakim Mehdi says that reforms cannot be introduced without assistance, H. E. the Governor-General that assistance and countenance cannot be given until reforms are introduced."

But in spite of all difficulties the work of reform did progress. There is a long despatch from Major Low, dated 13th June 1832,<sup>1</sup> in which after bearing witness to the zeal and disinterestedness of the minister he enumerates the reforms accomplished. "A great part of Oudh had been put under amani management; of the total revenue of 140 lakhs 92 were now realised under this system. A court had been established in Lucknow to hear complaints against amils, and corrupt officials had suffered exemplary punishment. "In two cases where Thanadars were proved to have extorted bribes, they were not only fined and flogged but publicly disgraced by being turned out of their district with their faces blackened and mounted backwards on asses." An example which the Resident believed would be most salutary. In the "Five Coss Country" special police had been posted for the suppression of dacoits, with such good effect that the mounted police in the adjoining British district of Allahabad had been reduced.

He had inspired such confidence in his justice that numbers of zemindars, who had set the Government at defiance for years, had voluntarily come in and entered into revenue engagements. There was no open rebellion in the country, and during the last nine months the armed forces had been reduced by over 14,000 men.

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<sup>1</sup>Oudh Papers.

His faults as a public man were that he was too suspicious and liable to give vent to his anger; he was also "too economical in some public disbursements, such as public festivals, when much popularity would be gained by an opposite course at a trifling expense," and he buried himself too much in the petty details of business—"but, take him all in all, I am satisfied that he is the most able and efficient minister that this State has possessed during the last twenty years."

During the last week of July 1832 rumours of an estrangement between the King and Hakim Mehdi began to reach the ears of Major Low, and on the evening of 30th Taju-d-din Husain Khan, the King's Vakil, was sent to request the Resident for a private interview. In answer to the Resident's inquiry as to the real causes of the estrangement Taju-d-din replied, that it was mainly due to the enmity and intrigues of the Padshah Begam who hated the minister and had great influence over Nasiru-d-din; the Nawab had also been unwise because "he had not made a single friend for himself either amongst the numerous Begams, or among the male relatives of the King, or among the courtiers about the Durbar," who were enraged at the curtailment of their stipends and opportunities of speculation; and of whom several had been offended by his harsh language.

On the following day the Resident drove with the King to breakfast at Dilkusha. The King made several ridiculous charges against Hakim Mehdi—that he wished to be King and that he (Nasiru-d-din) was in danger of being poisoned by him; that he had publicly insulted the Padshah Begam and his favourite wife Koodusea Begam; and that he had on one occasion kicked a hole through the portrait of the King's father. The Resident expressed his conviction that the King had been misinformed, and warned him that the dismissal of Hakim Mehdi would cause sore displeasure to the Governor-General. Nasiru-d-din promised that he would take no action without giving

notice to the Resident. In spite of this promise the King began to heap marks of disfavour on Hakim Mehdi. He released his enemy, Muzaffar Ali Khan, from prison, and forbade the minister to attend him at the Khurshed Manzil where he had ordered a camp to be pitched for the whole court. As soon as the news reached the bazars, disturbances occurred in the city. The Resident tried to effect a reconciliation and apparently succeeded. The minister offered humble apologies for any faults of which he had been unwittingly guilty, and the King professed his full forgiveness. But that very night he spent in consultation with his new counsellors, Roshunu-d-daula, Muzaffar Ali, Jafar Ali Khan and Kunwar Ratan Singh—all of them except Roshunu-d-daula, men of the worst character, who urged the King to imprison Hakim Mehdi. The next day the minister was ordered to go to his house, and no official was permitted to visit him; but the King had not the courage to dismiss him though he had the impudence to send a message to Major Low offering him Rs. 25 lakhs, if he would summon Hakim Mehdi and dismiss him from his post; an offer that provoked the indignant reply that "not for 25 crores would he comply with such a request."

On 7th August the King called upon the Resident and informed him that he had made up his mind to transact the business of Government himself, without having any minister at all, and to allow Muntazimu-d-daula to depart from Lucknow unmolested.

On 9th August Hakim Mehdi left his apartments in the palace; to avoid insult he slipped out in the dead of night concealed in one of his women's *rattis*, and retired to his house in the city, the same house that he had possessed for thirty years, for unlike Agha Mir, he had not taken advantage of his position to acquire mansions in Lucknow. It was not until the following March that he was allowed to depart to Fatehgarh.

His fall was commemorated by the poet, Mirza Imam Bakhsh Nasikh, in an ingenious chronogram.

The disastrous results of Hakim Mehdi's dismissal may be gauged by the fall in revenue. For the five months October 1831 to February 1832, it had been Rs. 40,36,000; for the corresponding months of the following year it dropped to Rs. 18,24,000.

Fanny Parks, the Pilgrim in search of the Picturesque,<sup>2</sup> met Hakim Mehdi in Lucknow when he was minister, and renewed the acquaintance at Fatehgarh after his dismissal. She gives us some very pleasing glimpses of him in her diary. In 1835 she found him preparing to celebrate the Muharram; "he was a very religious man and kept the fast with wondrous strictness and fortitude." She visited a shawl factory which he had established to employ a number of destitute Kashmiris, in which three or four hundred workmen were engaged, and a school for boys which he had founded.

After the death of Nasiru-d-din, Hakim Mehdi was again appointed minister

"September 24th 1837 The Nawab Hakim Mehdi has been reappointed minister in Oudh: how happy the old man must be! He has been living at Fatehgarh pining for a restoration to the honours at Lucknow. The Nawab quitted for Oudh; on the first day of his march, the horse that carried his *nakaras* (State kettle-drums) fell down and died, and one of his cannon was upset—both most unlucky omens."<sup>3</sup>

And again on December 25th she records the Nawab's death.

\*    اَنقَادِ حَكِيمِ اَزِ مَرَاتِبِ  
\*    تَايِخِ بَطَرِزِ نَوْرِ كَمِ كُنِ  
\*    اَزِ حَا-یِ- حَكِيمِ هَشْتِ بَرِ گِیْرِ  
\*    سَهْ مَرْتَبَهْ نِصْفِ اِصْفِ كَمِ كُنِ

The Chronogram and, this note were communicated to me by Khan Bahadur Abdu-s-Sami.

"The Hakim fell from high honours,  
Write the Chronogram in a novel style  
Take eight from 'Hay' the first letter of Hakim  
Three times reduce by half and half."

ح=8 reduced by half three times gives the figures 4, 2, 1 or writing from right to left 1248

<sup>2</sup> Wanderings of a Pilgrim in search of the Picturesque, II, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> Oudh Papers, Letter from Resident, No. 89.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

In Mr. F. E. Pargiter's second paper on *Earliest Indian Traditional History*, from the Kshatriya sources, which appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for April 1914, on page 284, there is mention made of *Krivi* country, afterwards named Panchála, of which the capital was Hastinápura. Can any of the members of the Historical Society give information concerning this Krivi Kingdom and explain its name?

On page 12 of Mr. D. L. Drake-Brockman's *Banda District Gazetteer*, mention is made of the mint of an ancient city at Parduan in tahsil Mau, which is disclosed in some years in the bed of the Jamuna river, the right or Bundelkhand bank of the river being much cut away in its flow. What is the name of this city, was it Hindu or Buddhist, and where can an account of it be found?

J. R. HILL, KARWI, BANDA, U.P.

There is a manuscript of *Katha Sarit Sagar* in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, which contains an interesting record of great historical value. There is a curious Persian seal on the front leaf of this manuscript in which the name of one Virabhadra, apparently a king, occurs in conjunction with that of one Sultan Selim. From a closer look at the impression it would appear that the seal bears some date consisting of three numerals which

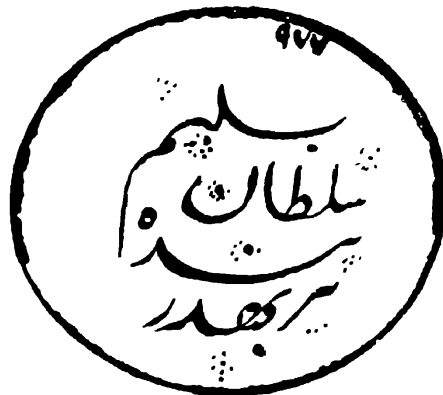


might be read with some confidence as 977.<sup>1</sup> The era which the date represents is not of course specified, but there can be hardly any doubt that it stands for Hijira; and in that case the year in question would correspond to A.D. 1569.

But what are we to understand by the legend—"Virabhadra, the *banda* (slave) of Sultan Selim"! The language of the legend seems clearly to show that Virabhadra was a subordinate prince reigning under the Sultan Selim. But do we know of the existence of any such prince or Sultan about the time to which the seal refers? These are questions which have to be settled first.

I believe this Virabhadra, who must have been a man of letters and the owner of a library of manuscripts, is identical with the Baghela prince of that name, reigning over what now forms the territory of Rewa in Central India in the sixteenth century. He was the author of *Kāṇḍarpa-chudamani*,<sup>2</sup> a gloss (in verse) on Vatsyayana's *Kama Sutra*, in the Introduction of which (verses 4-15) he gives a short sketch of the past history of his family as far as the 4th ancestor. The genealogy therein presented agrees in full with the list of Baghela kings supplied in Cunningham's Report, Vol. XXI, p. 107.

<sup>1</sup> The legend of the seal runs :



I am greatly obliged to the Hon'ble Mr. R. Burn, I.C.S., for his kindly reading this date for me and for helping me with other valuable and suggestive information.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Schmidt, in his *Indische Erotik*, pp. 39-40, is inclined to think that the king Virabhadra was not the real author of the work, but that it was written by a pandit of his court and allowed to be published under his name in return for some reward.

He was a great scholar himself and encouraged learning in others. If his statement in the *Kandarpachudamani* be not an empty vaunt he must be credited with the authorship of numerous works on different subjects.<sup>1</sup> Like his father, the venerable Ramachandra Deva, whose court had been the early home of the renowned musician Tansen, he was a great patron of merits. The remarkable favour<sup>2</sup> he showed towards the famous Naiyayika Padmanabha Misra *alias* Pradyota (or=<sup>o</sup>tana) Bhatta (or=<sup>o</sup>ttacharya) who lived at his court<sup>3</sup> was an expression of his natural liberality of heart towards men of letters. It was under his direction that Padmanabha composed *Sara-dagama*, a commentary on Jayadeva's *Chandra loka* (See Aufrecht's Cat. I. 352).

Virabhadra in his *Kandarpachudamani* (end) gives 1577 A.D.<sup>4</sup> as the date of the composition of his work Padmanabha's *Virabhadra Champu* is also dated in the same year. The 28th verse of the 2nd Chapter and the 1st verse of the 10th Chapter of *Kandarpachudamani*

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Kandarpachūdāmani* (Sāmyogika Adhyāya, beginning of Chap 10, verse 2) :

भोज इवायमविरतो नानाविद्यानिबन्धनिमीक्षे ।

<sup>2</sup> Virabhadra is said to have materially helped Padmanābha in the discharge of his debts. In his वैशेषिक सेतु, a Commentary on *Prasāstapāda Bhāṣya* (See Peterson's Cat. of Ulwar MSS., Extracts, pp. 53-4), the latter gratefully remembers the generous qualities of his patron (*cf.* the phrases “अमनिकाचिजमस्य परा मतिः” “अन्यवदान्याद् विशिष्टेन”) and says that by way of returning this act of Virabhadra's kindness he undertook the composition of this work and named it after him Viravariya :

अनुनादणीकता वयमन्यवदान्याद् विशिष्टेन ।

प्रत्यपकारधियायं रचितो मन्वसेतो ऽस्माभिः ॥

(V.B.—Padmanābha here calls his patron by the name of *Vira vara*. This is not a personal name at all, as Pandit Surendralal Goswami in his Preface to *Tarkabhāṣa* took it and which he identified with *Vira Sinha*, King of Bundi, 1341-1419. It is a merely honorific title. Strangely enough I find the same word *Vira* used in the same sense as a qualifying epithet of Virabhadra in a MS. of *Kandarpachūdāmani*, fol. 31b, lent out to me for inspection by Pandit Vundhyeswari Prasād Dvivedi :

भूषक वल्लवर्त्तो वीर वीवीरमद्रोऽसी ।

<sup>3</sup> Mm. H. P. Sāstri makes Padmanābha a courtier of Dalapatiraj.

(See the Index of Authors, p. ii, in the Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1904.)

१ हरलोचन (३) चरलोचन (३) रस (६) शक्ति (१) मि विंशते समये ।

काव्यमय युक्त प्रतिपदि पूर्वे पञ्चः करकरः । Quoted in Schmidt, “Beiträge zur Indischen Erotik” (p. 40). Both Schmidt and Aufrecht have rightly taken this date (1633) to indicate the Samvat Era.

make it certain that in 1577 A.D. the author was a youthful prince and had not yet assumed the reins of Government.<sup>1</sup> And all this squares with the chronology of the Baghela kings known to history. Virabhadra's father Ramachandra Deva reigned till his death in 1592 A.D., Virabhadra succeeded his father to the throne in the same year, but his reign was cut short by an unhappy accident which ended in his death in 1593.

Now, who could this Sultan Selim be of whom even Virabhadra, himself a king of no mean authority, speaks as his master? From what we knew of mediæval Indian history I am disposed to identify this Sultan with the Emperor Jehangir, for it is to him alone that the epithet Sultan and the Selim are rightly and at once applicable.<sup>2</sup> The dates of Virabhadra and Jehangir also synchronise; and above all, there are events narrated in history which speak of them as being brought closely together. These events are given in the Nasir-ul-Umara (Persian Text, pp. 228-9) and may be summed up as follows:—

In 14 A.E. (=1569 A.D.) Akbar sent some of his nobles to besiege the fort of Kalinjar which Raja Ramachandra Deva had purchased. Seeing no other alternative open the Raja came out of the fort and sent his son Virabhadra to the Imperial Court in attestation of his allegiance.

Now it is probable that Virabhadra went to the Capital as an *attaché* of the new born prince (Selim being born in 1569) and lived there almost all his life. On this assumption only we can discover a meaning in the term *bandu* as found in the impression. And it may be noted in passing that the seal bears exactly the same date (977 A.H.=1569 A.D.)—and the coincidence need not be merely accidental

<sup>1</sup> (a) आलापनविधिरधिकी यूना कथितो नवीनकाम्नायाः ।

श्रीवीरभद्रविदुषा ॥ II. 28.

(b) आदर्शनं विमदयितुं राजकुमारीः समुद्यतारम्भः । X. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The other probable alternative as to the equation of this Selim with the son of Sher Shah is rendered untenable by the facts that the latter could claim neither to the title of Sultan nor to contemporaneity with Virabhadra (having antedated him by several years). Sher Shah's son died in 1554 A.D. (Imp. Gaz. II, 396.)

Virabhadra's literary activities, his heroic exploits, his patronage, his generosity—all these must be assigned to a period when he was only a prince, *i.e.*, a period prior to 1592, the year of his succession to the throne.

These are all the little scraps of information that we can gather from different sources regarding a king who claims for himself the rare honour of being ranked with Bhoja Raja of Dhara.

GOPI NATH KAVIRAJ



## THE FOLKLORE OF KUMAON

By Rev. E. S. Oakley

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*THE FOLKLORE OF KUMAON,*  
*With reference to Folklore in general.*

BY THE REV. E. S. OAKLEY, M.A.

WHEN I was honoured, through my friend Dr. Venis, with an invitation to address this learned Society, it occurred to me that though I have no sort of claim to expert knowledge in any branch of History, properly so-called, there is yet one subject to which I was able to devote many hours spared from a busy life in the good years before the advent of the War—Folklore, the subject to which I refer, is a study subsidiary and auxiliary to History, and may by a stretch of courtesy be admitted to a humble place in its precincts. It has this attraction too, I am encouraged to think, that it is a subject in which everybody, learned or simple, is more or less interested, seeing that we all have in us something of primitive human nature and inherited and traditional links binding us to the early past of our race. Having, then, been enabled to collect a considerable amount of material bearing on the folklore of this Province, I propose to give a few illustrative selections, with such passing reference to the popular traditions of Europe as may throw light on the subject in general. I shall invite you to spend a few minutes with me in Fairy-land, that country where almost anything may happen, where everything is alive and endowed with soul, the world in which the childhood of all nations was passed. It is a world that we find still to some extent existing in the secluded valleys of this romantic province, among a people as yet but little touched by the modern spirit, and whose simple thoughts about life and Nature often carry us back



to a remote antiquity, reminding us of old tags and relics of primitive folklore in Western lands. The old-world notions which there exist only as faint echoes almost overborne by the tide of modern science and present day interests, are here found in rich profusion, enabling us to piece together more effectively the fragments of tradition in those more advanced communities. There is no question (I need hardly say) of the folklore of any country being *derived* from that of another, except in certain well-defined cases, for, just as the human body is everywhere in its general features identical, so the human mind in its workings under similar circumstances begets a similar set of ideas. Without such a key to the interpretation of Folklore, the study of it remains the mere farrago of nonsense and collection of old wives' fables which a hasty and unsympathetic criticism has sometimes deemed it, while, by the light of such an intelligent theory, numberless apparently arbitrary and unrelated facts arrange themselves in orderly sequence, and are found to be illustrations of invariable laws of mind.

Briefly, then, I would remind you at the outset that the earliest condition of man everywhere was one in which the imagination predominated over the reason. Man felt himself to be a soul endowed with will and feelings, and attributed the same qualities to well-nigh every natural object around him. The sun and moon to him were persons, endowed with semi human qualities, and especially the animals whose quick movements and mysterious attributes called forth his wondering attention, were endowed not only with human but often with super-human qualities, appearing wiser or more powerful than himself. So it is that in the naive fictions that we call fairy tales, and which are often in their essential features of immense antiquity, this attitude of mind still persists, and animals talk with men, favoured ones of whom are gifted with the power of understanding their speech, inanimate things are regarded as living and sentient, certain natural objects

come to be regarded as of peculiar importance, answering to men's hopes and fears, and possessed of strange potency of help or injury. Hence, we have animism and fetichism, those almost universal types of early thought. Ordinary events like the rising of the sun, the procession of the seasons, the growth of harvests, were thought to depend on the incantations of wizards, or other supernatural causes. So we have the rise of magic, sorcery, totems, taboo, and a whole universe of elaborate rules and prohibitions. This is a very scanty and imperfect outline of the science which has been so laboriously worked out during the last half century, but it will serve as an introduction to our present brief discussion.

### THE EXTERNAL SOUL.

Especially important to an understanding of the folk-tales of various races is the primitive idea of the soul or life. The phenomena of sleep and dreams readily suggested that the soul might leave the body and return, that in fact it is separable from the body and may even have its location in some distant place. This is a familiar feature of fairy tales of an antique type. In one Kumaon story the soul or life of an ogress is kept in the body of a parrot which lives on a pipal tree across the seven seas. The hero travels thither with the help of a magic sandal, climbs the tree and kills the parrot, whereupon the ogress dies. In another story a sorcerer's soul resides in a parrot kept in a cage. When the hero severs the legs of the parrot the wizard becomes lame, and when he kills it outright he dies. In yet another, a demon informs his daughter that his life is quite safe, for it is secure in the body of a beetle, which again is hidden in the body of a parrot, which is kept in an iron cage, which is securely locked in an inner room, there being six outer rooms to be passed through before it can be reached. In still another story the life of a wizard is hidden in a knife, and when the secret is

disclosed, and the knife is found and broken, the wizard dies. The last mentioned story is a lengthy one with some highly interesting details, for instance the dead body of a chief is not burnt but floated down a river on a bier, which may possibly refer to some custom of Dasyus or aborigines, and mention is also made of dwelling-houses with a central pillar, a style of building which has been obsolete for ages -- an illustration of the preservation of archaic details which is one of the most interesting features of folk-tales.

### THE MELUSINA TYPE OF STORY.

Another common type of story, met with in the folklore of many lands, embodies the idea of a fairy husband or wife who can assume the form of an animal, usually a serpent. The classic example is the story of Melusina, a princess in the Duchy of Luxemburg, who takes the shape of a fire-breathing serpent bearing in her mouth a key or ring, which must be taken away by her deliverer with his own lips. There are numberless stories from various quarters of the world in which a fairy prince or princess is doomed to wear a monstrous or animal form until disenchanted by a deliverer who uses the appropriate means, though there usually remains the danger of the fairy bride or husband returning to the original form. Sometimes it is added that the animal skin or covering, or feather-robe (in the case of Swan maidens), must be kept out of the way of the fairy beings, or they will recover them and disappear. The story given below, told in a Kumaon village some years ago, has some of the immemorial features peculiar to this class of tale, with the additional detail that a complete deliverance is achieved for the enchanted person. The barest outline of the story is here given :—

There was once a great man and his wife, and they were without offspring. The husband in displeasure drove out the wife, who became a wandering beggar. One day she found a small stick-like object resembling a young

snake. She kept it in her basket, and the next day it grew and filled the basket. She put it into a larger basket, which it soon also filled. Ere long she returned to her husband's mansion and took up her abode in a barn (bhákar), the husband taking no notice of her. In a few days the serpent filled the barn. (There is a suggestion here of the dragon stories of Europe and the famous Lambton Worm.) The woman went and told her husband that she now had a son, meaning the serpent, and required a house for him. With careless generosity he built her a large three-storied house, and she placed the serpent there. It coiled itself all through the house and lay with its head on the threshold. The woman now told her husband that her son had grown up and she required a wife for him. A poor orphan girl was found, and she was married to the serpent. She was made to wait on the snake and anoint him with a magic oil provided by the self-styled mother-in-law, who seems to have been a witch. The girl wept at her dreadful fate, but her mother-in-law bade her be patient, and to live in the house with the serpent. On the third day the serpent put off his skin and appeared in a handsome human form. The girl informed her mother-in-law, who instructed her that night to take the serpent's skin while her husband slept, and to burn it along with her bodice. She did so, but carelessly left a small portion of it unburnt. The husband awaking looked for his snake-skin, and at last found the small unburnt bit and from that re clothed himself and again appeared in his former shape as a serpent. The mother-in-law instructed the young wife to be more careful the next time, and to burn every particle of the skin along with her (the mother-in-law's) bodice. This was done; the fairy husband was unable to return to the serpent form, and remained as an ordinary man, and they all lived happily ever after. Many stories of this kind are current. They seem to go back to an early age when the barriers between human and animal life were still vaguely conceived.

**THE SOUL'S JOURNEY AFTER DEATH.**

The idea that alms given in one's life-time will be repaid in the future world is found in many old legends. It is clearly expressed in the Vendidad of the Zend-Avesta, where we find it stated, "At the head of the Chimvat bridge (over which souls have to pass after death), the holy bridge made by Mazda, they ask for their spirits the reward for the worldly goods which they have given away." Referring to the idea of the return of alms, Sir Walter Scott in his 'Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border' quotes a passage from an old MS. in the Cotton Library, descriptive of the Yorkshire district of Cleveland in Elizabeth's reign: "When any dieth, certain women sing a song (still extant) to the dead body, reciting the journey that the party deceased must go, and they are of belief that once in their lives it is good to give a pair of new shoes to a poor man, forasmuch as after this life they are to pass barefoot through a great laund, full of thorns and furzen." These "dead-shoes" were also given in Sweden and Germany. It is interesting to find a similar belief embodied in a Kumaon folk-tale, which runs as follows:—

Once a King proclaimed throughout his dominions that he would give a lakh of rupees to any man who would consent to be entombed alive. Half of the sum was to be paid in advance and the other half if he came unscathed from the ordeal. A rich miser offered. He was taken in procession to a cemetery by the King's officers accompanied by a great crowd. On the way he was met by an ascetic, who asked for an alms, telling the miser that as he was going to be buried he ought to give away something for the benefit of his soul. As he had nothing else about him to give, the miser in jest handed to the holy man the shell of an almond which he picked up from the ground. The ascetic said, "You will receive the reward of what you have given me." The man was then buried in a tomb, which was closed up. While in this living grave he saw many hideous sights. Horrid demons came to devour him, and venomous snakes

assailed him, but the almond-shell stood him in good stead, for it was interposed between the fangs of the serpents and himself every time they tried to bite him. Next morning the King came to the place and ordered that the tomb should be opened, expecting the entombed man to have perished, but to the surprise of all he was found alive. He was taken out, bathed and sumptuously attired, and told to accompany the King to his palace in order to receive the remainder of the promised reward. He, however, flatly refused to go, declaring that he must return home at once to attend to his affairs, promising, however, to come again later. On reaching home, without a moment's delay he began distributing his wealth to the poor. He gave away all his possessions, leaving nothing for himself or his family. On going to receive the second half of the money from the King, he related what had happened to him in the tomb, and taking the rupees, distributed them also to the poor.

#### WITCHCRAFT.

The old belief in the loup-garou or were-wolf (a man or woman who has the power of assuming an animal form) which formerly prevailed in various parts of Europe, and even nowadays has not altogether lost its terrors, finds its exact counterpart in the superstitions of the Bhoksas, an aboriginal tribe living at the foot of these hills, and in Garhwál the first Commissioner of Kumaon, Mr. Traill, nearly a hundred years ago, mentions a Bhoksa at Srinagar who was credited with the power of turning into a tiger. He would eat a herb which would transform him into the required form, and afterwards eat one which restored him to the human shape, and was said to have devoured many persons. The Tharus also in the Tarai are credited with similar powers, and with the power of the evil eye. Some years ago I was told there was a Bhoksa wizard still living who in the form of a tiger had eaten not less than 400 people. It is said that a poor and broken man among them

finding himself unable to make a living by ordinary means will resolve to be a wizard. He will partake of a certain herb, and give another herb to the members of his family, promising them that he will return after a certain number of years, when they must put this herb in his mouth, and he will reassume the human form. Those who have not forgotten their Vergil, will be reminded of Moeris, mentioned in the 8th Eclogue, who by the use of baneful herbs could transform himself into a wolf. Having become a tiger by eating the magical plant, the Bhoksa wizard goes about seeking whom he may devour, and collects the jewels of all the women whom he slays. At the promised time he will return to his home. If the members of his family are afraid, and fail to take the proper measures, he will devour even them, but if they remember to put the herb in his mouth they will be safe, and their relative will be restored to his first form. The Bhoksas, both men and women, have a high reputation for witchcraft. Witches ride through the air, like their European sisters, borne by demons. Another link of association with our western superstitions is the belief that the power of witchcraft cannot pass over a running stream. Readers of the "Lay of the Last Minstrel" will remember how young Buccleuch was saved in this way. It is a common idea that a witch or wizard can only enchant between the two next streams, so at Almora sorcery can only be exercised between the bounds marked by the two rivers Sual and Kosi which enclose the ridge on which the town stands. As in Burns' description of the flight of Tam'o Shanter from "Alloway's auld haunted Kirk" pursued by witches, the crossing of a stream renders powerless the pursuit of spells or demons. There are certain safeguards against witchcraft, which are interesting both from their likeness to and difference from the European remedies. A very powerful agent is the mustard-seed. The burning of the seeds is said to drive away the effect of charms. A few of the seeds are waved round the head of the bewitched man and put on the fire,

while a mantra is recited. This burns up and removes altogether the power of the sorcery. Such mantras or charms are called *Rakhwáli* or protectives, and are equally efficacious against demons and ghosts or sorcery, especially in case of disease. They contain many old and obsolete Pahari words and are evidently of considerable antiquity, and are usually handed down from father to son, in families of exorcists.

### NIDHI, OR TALISMANS.

The belief in certain objects as possessed of magical power is wide-spread and takes us back to the period of fetichism. Shakespeare speaks of the fern-seed which enables a man to walk invisible, and the minor superstitions attaching to the even ash, or ash-twigg with an even number of leaves, and the four-leaved shamrock, and the like, are familiar. In Kumaon there are various articles known under the general name of Nidhi, a Hindi word signifying "depository" (of magical power). One of the most famous of the Nidhis or talisman is the Shyálsinghi or jackal's horn. The animal that possesses such a horn becomes king of the jackals. The horn appears only when the royal jackal shrieks, and at other times it remains invisible. Whenever the king thus cries, all the others are obliged to acknowledge him as their lord, by their howling response. If any of the pack neglects to do so his head breaks and he dies. The leading jackal is supposed to cry "Main Dilli ká bádsháh hún," which he utters thrice. To this the others reply in chorus "Ho, ho, ho!" "You are, you are!" Many wonderful properties are ascribed to the jackal's horn, and the possessor of it secures power over all, even kings and governors, can defeat his enemies, compel love and liking, is protected from the effect of weapons, and is sure to prosper.

A mysterious talisman is the *Chintamani*, which might be supposed to mean a fabulous gem yielding to its possessor whatever he may desire. In one Kumaon fairy tale.



however, it is represented as a piece of wood which an ascetic gave to a man while he was roaming in a forest, and by means of which he called up a palace, a wife, and various other luxuries, but when the precious piece of timber was carried off by the machinations of an ogress, the whole scene disappeared and he was left desolate. The man put an end to himself in his despair, but his faithful dog cleverly recovered the chintamani, which was then employed to provide amrit or life-giving nectar that restored him to life.

The flowers of the night-blooming *Berhu*, a species of fig-tree, are regarded as a talisman. If anyone can see the flowers open he will become a king.

The belief in the *Páras-patthar*, or philosopher's stone, the touch of which converts baser metals into gold, flourishes still in the Hills, among women and rustics. Shakespeare refers to the toad, ugly and venomous, which yet "bears a precious jewel in his head." The elephant and rhinoceros are believed here to have the same, and the distinguished powers of any great man are liable to be attributed to a similar cause. Rumour in India will have it that the late Mr. W. E. Gladstone's family were offered a fabulous sum by scientists for his head, that they might get possession of the jewel which endowed him with such remarkable wisdom.

The divining-rod of witch-hazel does not appear to be used in Kumaon, but in its place one hears of diviners who can discover water or treasure by means of *scent*. They take up earth in their hand and sniff it, or put their noses to the ground.

### OMENS AND DEATH-SIGNALS.

Dreams, as in Europe go by contraries. If you find yourself crying in a dream, it portends that you will soon have cause to laugh. The ill effect of ominous dreams may be removed by thinking of fire, the sun, gods, or sacred emblems. If a snake crosses one's path, one is sure to meet

with calamity. The bad omen may be averted by tearing off a bit of cloth or a few blades of grass, and laying them on the road, otherwise that road must not be taken. If a crow says "Kaw, Kaw!" it foretells visitors, like the crowing of a cock in Britain, but if it says "Pakao, Pakao!" (as it sometimes does), or if it crows at night, it portends speedy death. Also if a jackal shrieks three times on the north side of a house, and anyone is ill at the time, it is a most unfavourable omen. If it cries thrice on any other side of the house good hopes may be entertained. If a lighted lamp goes out or is extinguished by accident, after dark, it is a bad sign. Should the dejected householder have survived all these dangers, and should he meet an empty basket or dish on going out, he is doomed to misfortune, but a full one promises success. Sneezing is reckoned a bad sign. Folklorists explain that sneezing was generally regarded among primitive people as dangerous to the soul of life (that kittle commodity), which might be expelled by this means, so we have the "God bless you!" in Britain, to avert the threatened ill, and in Kumaon people say "Chiranjio" (live long!), but nowadays only to young children. So the general tendency of ancient superstitions to be softened down into childish rhymes, or even jests, is here illustrated.

#### SUPERSTITIONS ABOUT IRON.

It is well known that a Stone Age and a Bronze Age preceded the general use of iron, and hence the conservatism of primitive religion forbade its employment in sacred rites, the gods being supposed to resent its use as once a new-fangled invention, while at the same time it has a deterrent effect on ghosts and other evil-disposed spirits. Their dislike of the metal makes them unwilling to approach persons protected by it, and therefore it is of great potency as a charm. The nailing of a horse-shoe on stable-doors is familiar. Thus, when Scotch fishermen

(we are told by Mr. J. Mackenzie) were at sea, and one of them happened to take the name of God in vain, the first man who heard him called out "cauld airn!" at which every man of the crew grasped the nearest bit of iron and held it between his hands for a while. Pieces of iron, such as nails or knitting-needles, used to be stuck into meat, butter, cheese, etc., in the north of Scotland, to prevent "death" from entering them. At the festival of All Souls in Prussia, in pre-Christian times, no knives were used, so as not to injure the ghosts. There are many references to fairies being afraid of iron. Any iron instrument placed in a cradle protects children. Fairy wives would sometimes fly away from their human spouses if struck with iron. Both these ideas relative to iron are found prevalent in Kumaon. Thus a weapon of some kind is (or was) put under the head or bedding of a person suffering from fever to ward off evil spirits. Old people used to keep a knife in their pocket as a protective. A knife is taken along when a child is conveyed, from one house to another at night or in a procession, to prevent its becoming possessed. After a birth an iron tool is kept in the room where the infant sleeps. The common explanation is that by the utterance of Vedic mantras on some great occasion all things were dissolved, but iron refused to melt. The metal is thus marked as not amenable to divine influence. The Kumaon practice of branding the skin of children with a hot spindle-iron, for some diseases, may possibly be due to similar ideas. We may also refer to the production of fire from the fire-drill in Vedic sacrifices, and the injunctions of the Shastras that the principal vessels used for sacrifice should be made of wood and not of metal.

### GHOSTS.

The souls of children who die are believed in Kumaon to become for a time lights on the hill-sides. It is pointed out that one may sometimes see many small bright lights,

which quickly disappear, leaving perhaps only one shining. These are the souls of little children. It is almost startling to find that the *Ignis Fatuus* or *Will-o'-the-Wisp* was believed in England to be the soul of a child which had died unbaptised. In Brittany the *Porte-brandon* appears in the form of a child bearing a torch which he turns like a burning wheel, and with this, it is said, he sets fire to villages, which are sometimes by night suddenly enveloped in flames. In Lusatia where the wandering child-souls are regarded as harmless, it is believed that they may be relieved from their wanderings as soon as some pious hand throws a handful of consecrated ground after them. The question naturally arises in the mind as to whether all such resemblances are mere accidental coincidences, or whether we have to recognise a possible inheritance of such ideas from some pre-historic racial centre or starting-point.

Ill-behaved ghosts in this province sometimes amuse themselves by throwing stones. One observer describes having heard in a certain haunted locality a sound resembling the beating of a bag of walnuts on a stone, which is circumstantial enough. Kumaon ghosts resemble European ones by being readily deceived and easily frightened. In fact they may be described as half-witted. They cannot injure anyone who is not afraid of them, or a pure-minded person; an idea so splendidly wrought out in Milton's "*Comus*." It is enough in most cases, if one sees a ghost, to strike two stones together. The apparition will be afraid and retire. Striking a spark with iron, or keeping an iron weapon near one, has the same effect, because (as it is explained) this inspires the ghost with an idea of one's boldness, and sufficiently daunts his feeble, flickering intelligence. We know, however, another explanation of this, which may be more probable. Ghosts fear a dog, but cats are friendly to ghosts, so at night people will not allow a cat to enter the house, as it is believed that a ghost or demon sometimes assumes the feline form. The European connection between witches and cats as familiar

spirits may rest on some such idea. Possession by ghosts is a troublesome feature of life in Kumaon, and may take many forms. At a place between Ranikhet and Ramnagar there are some graves of British soldiers. The ghosts of these defunct heroes sometimes take possession of people in the neighbourhood, who then go about demanding *sharáb*, *cheroot*. On being supplied with these articles the possessed persons come to their senses again, and the ghosts leave them. People sometimes meet ghosts who talk in an incoherent manner, as though trying to imitate human speech, and on parting offer gold or silver coin, or other desirable things, which on subsequent examination turn out to be mere fragments of bone. This is strongly reminiscent of the "fairy gold" of European tales, which turns out to be dross, leaves, or coal. It suggests the inference that ghosts (*bhút*, *pret*, *pisách*, etc.), in India correspond to the British fairies or pixies. These supernatural beings under various names have much in common, and though euphemistically styled the "good folk" in England, are of uncertain moral quality, and, as those who have read any large number of fairy stories know, as often as not mischievously inclined.

A typical ghost story tells how, during a small-pox epidemic, a government *chaprassi* entered a certain village of which all the inhabitants were either dead or fled, except in one house where a man lay still apparently alive. The *chaprassi* was invited by this patient to stay with him and cook some food. While engaged in the operation, he happened to ask the man where he could find salt. To his horror the sick man reached out a hand to the far corner of the room, some yards away, to take the salt. The *chaprassi* perceiving that this was a dead body possessed by a ghost, fled in terror, pursued over some mustard-fields by the ghost. The next morning he ventured back, with some friends, to the place, and they found the body lying dead, but between its toes were the yellow mustard flowers.

showing that it had passed through the mustard crop in pursuit of the *chaprassi*.

When a person swoons for a time and then returns to consciousness, it is believed that his soul has been taken to Dharm-ráj or Yama, the king of the dead, by the messengers of that grisly monarch, who, on having it presented before him, declares that a mistake has been made—they have brought the wrong man—and they are reproved and ordered to restore the soul to its former tenement, and call the right person in his place. Hence the man recovers and someone else dies.

Perhaps the weirdest narrations of the kind that one has met with in conversation with the people in Kumaon are stories of the rebirth of souls. Some years ago a number of people died of cholera at Ramnagar and other places, on the way up from the great Hardwar fair. As there was not enough fuel to consume their bodies, only a little fire was laid on their foreheads, and they were left in the jungle. Their relatives and friends on arriving home performed their funeral rites fully, and one has been gravely assured that five or six cases have been known at Almora of men who returned to that place after being dead, and were restored to their proper form by the use of appropriate rites. The birth ceremony, tonsure, naming, and sacred thread ceremonies were performed in turn for them and they were then admitted into caste as ordinary members of society. This was told me independently, but I was interested to find the matter reported in that excellent, now defunct, periodical "Punjab Notes and Queries" and quoted by no less an authority than Dr. J. G. Frazer in his famous "Golden Bough," where we are further informed that a man erroneously supposed deceased in ancient India was treated as dead to society until he had gone through the form of being born again. In ancient Greece he was washed, dressed in swaddling clothes, and put out to nurse, and not until then could he mix with living folk. (Golden Bough, vol. I, p. 22).

## FOLKLORE OF PLANTS AND TREES.

Wordsworth has recorded of that dull person, Peter Bell, that

‘ A primrose by a river’s brim,  
‘ A yellow primrose was to him,  
‘ And it was nothing more.’

The Kumaon peasant is not so matter-of-fact; he sees strange potencies in many familiar-looking forms of plant-life, and his ideas cast light on some old superstitions of our own. The Scots have a rhyming proverb, “ Rowan, ash, and red thread, keep the devils from their speed,” and certain plants or herbs are counted lucky in various parts of Britain, as the myrtle, which in Somerset is kept in windows as a lucky plant. In Kumaon the nettle is a protective against evil spirits, and a twig of it is taken with young children when going abroad. Thorny plants, like the *timur*, are credited with the same power. Mustard-seed is used in exorcisms, to get rid of disease or avert the evil eye. Certain trees and plants are regarded as having supernatural qualities. An autumnal wild plant of a single stalk called *Yukanbir* (single hero), is said to become a ghost at night, and is sometimes seen at midnight increased to a stupendous size. If worshipped during the daytime and invoked at night, the ghost embodied in the plant will become the slave of the worshipper, provided he is bold enough to seize and hold it. It will accomplish every desire of the sorcerer who has acquired power over it. The small seeds of the plant are also counted highly efficacious in magic, and are used along with mustard-seed by exorcists.

The sacredness of the pipal tree is well known. Its root is said to be inhabited by Brahma, its trunk by Shiva, and its boughs by Vishnu. The women of Kumaon are wont to worship the pipal tree on Saturday morning, because under it there lives a goddess Alakshmi (meaning poverty or misfortune), who is visited on that day by her sister the goddess of good fortune Lakshmi. Another

explanation offered is that the tree is the elder sister of Lakshmi.

According to a popular estimate of trees and plants, they are divided into classes : those of good shape are called Brahmans, large trees or plants are Kshatriyas, useful or profitable ones Vaishya, and evil or mean ones sudra or Dom. A demon origin is ascribed to many while others are thought to be of divine nature. The *másh* grain is of great efficacy when children are ill by possession. A small loaf of it is waved round the head of the child, then grains of *másh* are thrown where four roads meet, and a lamp is lighted (it must be within sight of the snowy range). It is supposed that a *pari* or fairy takes them away, and with them the evil effects.

The wild edible vegetable *Kairua*, found in the month of May, has some curious taboo connected with it. A woman who has an elder brother is not allowed to pluck it, except at the time when he gives her *betauli*—a custom by which the sister gives sweetmeat to the brother and receives money in return.

The *kharak* tree (*celtis australis*) has a bad reputation, as its roots burrow in walls and damage buildings. It is also feared for superstitious reasons, and children are forbidden to go near it, as it is the abode of demons. The *Betaun*, a tree with hard wood, is a ghost tree. Hence it is removed from the vicinity of houses and its wood is not used for ordinary furniture. It is said to shriek at night (reminding one of the superstition about mandrakes), and whoever hears its cry is sure to die. A similar belief attaches to the *Kairua* just mentioned.

Certain trees were in Europe worshipped anciently as fire trees, or sacred repositories of fire. Such was the oak, and the cult of Zeus at Dodona is supposed to have had some such origin. Here the plant called *Shami*, which grows on low banks by rivers, is considered sacred, because fire is produced by rubbing two sticks of it together.



The cocoa-nut when offered in certain sacrifices has been supposed by some to be a substitute for human sacrifice. The Kumaon folk-saying about it may be held to support the surmise. They say it ranks as a human being in sacrifice, because it was intended by the Creator at first for a human head, with its two eyeholes and mouth, but was later disapproved of and turned into a fruit.

Just as in Europe the Virgin Mary's name is given to many plants, so here they are identified with Sita. A species of long grass seen hanging from rocks (*sacharum spontaneum*), incorrectly called *Kush* grass by the hill-people, and used for thatching and for mats and string, is called Sita's hair. A curious fact about the *chir* or pine tree is that when cut it does not give forth fresh shoots. This is accounted for by a story that when Rama was in search of Sita he asked, among other trees, the pine tree, as to the whereabouts of his wife. The pine answered that it did not know, as it was always being blown about by the wind. Rama pronounced on it the curse that it should never produce shoots when cut down. The Himalayan oak (*bánj*) also refused to tell, and was cursed to be of use only for burning. The wild-cherry (*padam*) supplied the desired information, and was blessed by Rama, and therefore remains evergreen. The wild-cherry is sacred to Vishnu and is regarded as holy, its leaves being offered to the deities in worship. The wild rose (*kunja*) gave grateful shade to Rama, and was declared by him to be the king of the forest. One tree, it is said, will spread over two square miles by climbing and twisting over other trees.

The puff ball fungus (*taragu*) is called the refuse of stars, and is believed to fall from the sky in meteoric flashes.

#### ANIMAL FOLKLORE.

A snake's life extends to twelve years, after which it turns into a partridge (*titira*). The partridge lives for twelve years and then turns back into a snake. So when

the partridge is eaten, its head is always left, as it is believed to contain poison. This idea probably arose from a fanciful resemblance between the head of a snake and that of a partridge, so potent in the region of folklore is mere association of ideas. Money and other treasure after being concealed for ages turns into a serpent. Hence snakes are seen about old buildings. If such a serpent is kept for some time it will turn into a man. This mingling of serpentine and human forms is found also in the classical age of Europe. It was as a snake that the spirit of Anchises appeared and accepted the offerings of the pious Aeneas.

The dog, the vehicle of Bhairava, is regarded by the Khassiyas of Kumaon as of divine nature, protecting a house from evil spirits by its barking, and being a well-wisher of mankind. It wishes for more people in the household that it may get more food, as each member of the family is accustomed to save something from meals and give it to the dogs in the courtyard. The cat on the other hand is of morose and demonic nature, and people do not drink water it has touched. In its heart it wishes that all the people in the house would become blind, as then it would have ample opportunity of stealing the milk, curds, and ghi. The goat, although used for sacrifice, is also inauspicious, because it wishes that all the houses were ruined, and then it would spring from one broken wall to another. Its jaws are not cooked by Brahmans, but Mahomedans use them, thinking they give strength, being powerful in themselves. Women, for some reason, are forbidden to split the head of a slaughtered goat.

The lizard is regarded as an emblem of slothful inefficiency. In the cold nights of winter it shivers and vows that on the morrow it will build a proper house for itself and its family, but when the morrow comes it lies on a stone in the sunshine, and says it is too hot to do any work. It nods its head hypocritically to a spider saying "Wait for me; wait for me." The frog in Kumaon folklore is a

somewhat querulous character, apt to suffer from wounded pride. The lizard once said to the frog, "O Baujee" (a term of respect meaning elder brother's wife), "please let me pass." The frog, much gratified, replied, "Thank you; you always address me politely, but that confounded Táná-máná (meaning the snake) always curses me." (Táná-máná is an abusive epithet signifying threads of cloth). The fire fly (*jainanyá*) is reckoned a good little creature, though rather officious. It says "O God, with lighted torch I go here and there in the night, trying to count how many people there are, but I can find very few." The common fly is a person who can never get over having witnessed the great battle of the Mahabharat (*Kuru-kshetra*) long ago. "Ah, that was *some* fighting," he says, as he rubs his little hands together. It is in such folk-sayings as these that we find "the touch of Nature that makes the whole world kin." We can hear the young Khassiya mother prattling to her child, or the village patriarch amusing his grand-children.

The stories and sayings about *birds* are numerous and most interesting. There is a long poem in which a popular story has been versified by a Kumaoni poet, and in it nearly all the varieties of birds known in the province are named. It is believed that some people can nowadays understand the language of animals (*pashu-bhasha*). Our common phrase "A little bird told me" may be remotely traced to such an idea. An old Indian friend of mine was told gravely by a villager that he knew it, but on being urged to disclose the secret he replied that it had been taught him by Mahadeo and Parvati, and that if he revealed the mystery he would at once die. The woodpecker in a former stage of existence was a carpenter, and still pursues his task, impressed with the idea that there is nothing like timber; but others say that he was a blacksmith, and yet others assert that he was once a burglar. In the spring-time he chirps "Hot, hot, hot!" "Plough up your land"—from the Pahari word *hotna*, to

plough. Very ancient superstitions in Europe are associated with the raven, cuckoo, wren, etc. The following birds are reckoned as more or less magical or divine in these hills: the Nilkanth or blue jay. Also the Baunnya or Bauntya, a kind of partridge which has a curious trick of stopping and dancing about. The Lampuchiyá (long-tailed bird or ribbon bird) is said to be the wife of the nightingale, and is identified with the planet Saturn and with falling meteors. The Lumuriyá chíl, a species of kite (with a small pendent tail), is said to be sprung from Garúd, the vulture god, and to be a spy of Yama. As in Europe in the case of the so-called "lightning birds," any bird with red feathers is highly considered, such as the ráí (nightingale), the male and female of which species are said to lay eggs alternately, though the male bird always calls the female to take the trouble of hatching the eggs. The red water snake, by the way, is also in high repute, and is worshipped, and to kill one is equal to the slaughter of a hundred kine. The fact of the cuckoo's eggs being found along with those of other birds has been observed, but, in stories one meets with here, a curious reversal of judgment takes place the other birds are counted the offenders, laying their eggs in the poor cuckoo's nest. The partridge (chakhurá) says "Chakh, Chakh," meaning "Taste!" It is calling to the other birds to sip the rays of the moon. It is regarded as a moon-bird, and is kept in houses as a protection against spells and witchcraft. The tilvuá, a shy bird with long legs, is an emblem of well-meaning but futile endeavour. It sleeps with its pathetic little feet directed upward, it is believed with the idea of preventing the sky from falling down on the earth.

#### KHAS-BACHAN.

There are vast numbers of riddles and similitudes prevalent in the province, dealing with the peculiarities of animals and plants. Some of these, known as *Rishi-bachan*, or sayings of the sages, are of an edifying nature,

and usually derived from the Sanskrit shastras. The common ones are called Khas-bachan, or popular sayings (sayings of the Khassiyas or hill-cultivators). Doubtless they help to wile away the long winter evenings in many a Himalayan village. I give one or two samples. Pár dhár men adhuk roto, half a chupatty on the mountain or ridge there : the half moon. I bear such a heavy load that I cannot hold my head up : the *kauni* millet. A dog made of wood barks on any side it is beaten : a drum. From one thán of cloth has 1,600 garments : the bhutta or Indian corn. Fair and clad in green, wearing nine laes of pearls, I stand in the king's garden with folded hands : the Indian corn. Very small, with tiny teeth, but the cursed thing has made my son weep : the nettle. A green field with 32 posts in it : the leaf platter pegged together with sticks or thorns. A leper buried in the ground : ginger with its distorted root. A bird with one wing flew to the snows : the pine seed with its single blade. An example of a *Rishi-bachan*, repeated for moral instruction, is an extract from the Bhagavat Puran, the 24 lessons drawn from different worldly objects by the holy Dattatreya (Skandha II, ch. 7). No. 1 is the earth, an example to us for its utter forbearance of all wrongs and its generous unfailing gifts. No. 4 is water, soft, bright, and comforting, pure in itself it cleanses all things, so should the saint purify the hearts of men from sin and ignorance. No. 6 is the moon, which changes and fades but returns again, as the soul (átmá) in all its vicissitudes remains imperishable, and thus nightly to the listening earth the silvery moon still preaches of immortality. No. 15 is the deer, fair and delicate but easily deceived, which hunters charm with the music of a harp, till, fascinated, it stands, and lets them slay it with their cruel arrows. Thus silly souls listen to evil songs, till, like stricken deer, they are ruined.

#### APOLOGUES AND FACETIOUS TALES.

There are many stories current, of which I already

possess a large number, describing the doings of animals and their tricks played on each other. The subtle devices of the fox and the jackal are favourite themes. Most of these stories are marked by a kind of humour, sometimes homely, sometimes grotesque. I give one short specimen, illustrative of the power of "bluff."

A male fox and his vixen felt the need of a home. The fox took a look round and found a tiger's den handy, in which he installed his wife. A young cub was born ere long, and for some days they lived in comfort, till one day the tiger came roaring towards his cave. The vixen exclaimed to her husband "Is it not just like you to make an arrangement like this—putting us in a tiger's den! What shall we do now?" "Don't be afraid," replied the fox, "wait and see." Going out into the open he shouted to his wife inside, "Ai Shyám Sundari (Mrs. Reynard), what are the children crying for?" The clever wife, entering into the plot, thereupon squeezed the baby and made it howl. "What are the children crying for? Why, they won't eat any more stale tiger flesh: they want a nice fresh one." On hearing this the tiger fled in great alarm. On his way he met a long-tailed monkey (langúr), who asked him why he was running away. He related his story. The langúr, who is a bit of a cynic, laughed and said, "Why, you págal, it's only a fox: what are you afraid of? Come along back with me." The tiger was too frightened to go, so the langúr to encourage him, tied their tails together, and they ventured back to the cave. When they got near, the fox again jumped out, and cried "O brother monkey, you promised you would bring us seven tigers, but I see you have got only one tied there." The tiger, in uncontrollable terror, dashed off, dragging the monkey behind him. When he had run some distance he looked round, and seeing the monkey as he thought grinning at him—in reality it was dead and showing its teeth—he beat it, and tearing himself from it, fled for miles and miles into the jungle.

## POPULAR SONGS AND BALLADS.

Had time permitted, it was my intention to give a few specimens of popular songs, as distinct from religious hymns or dramas. The *Jwára* is a musical dialogue, as, for example, between a man and his wife, of a humorous turn. These songs have curious complicated refrains, and are sung to the accompaniment of small drums called *hurká*. The singers and chorus dance with drum in hand at the conclusion of each verse or stanza, so that the performance is often a lengthy one. One of these, which I have taken down, not inaptly represents the course of a conversation between a husband and wife, the latter trying to wheedle her spouse into staying at home when he wishes to go to the Plains (Bhabar) to make some money in the winter time in order to pay his debts. The last argument which she uses is a coquettish one and may be supposed to have been effectual. She tells him "If you don't come back, there are thousands of men who will feed me." The first line of each stanza consists of a varying refrain, that rhymes with the next line. Sometimes the song has a personal and rather libellous allusion, the name of some well-known person being introduced. Occasionally in burlesque love-songs known as *chákhali-mákhali*, which also take the dialogue form, a youth is disguised to represent the lady. One cannot but remark the limitation of themes and natural sentiments due to the absence of the element of unmarried courtship and free converse of the sexes. It is an interesting speculation how far these village dialogues, as in ancient Greece, have been the forerunners of the drama, in its characteristic Indian form of musical comedy.

So ends this brief and imperfect sketch of the Folklore of Kumaon, in which my object has been rather to arouse interest in the subject, and suggest lines of original research, than to treat any part of it exhaustively. I shall be satisfied if I have done something to show that it is only through sympathy that we can hope to understand "the soul of a people," and in bringing to light these quaint or

pleasing fancies, have suggested how closely related are all men in spite of our accidental differences, like these fellow-mortals in Kumaon, who as they journey through life, have found courage to live, by transmuting its poverty and commonplace through the power of imaginative joy. That there is a pathetic side to all this, and other, deeper considerations, which for once have been left out of view, we are none of us unaware, but I think it is a sufficient and not unworthy motive of this playful by-product of one's life-work to appeal to the general "human heart by which we live," whether as Europeans or as Indians, and call to mind that in the great purpose of God all nations of mankind are made of one blood, of one heart and mind, to dwell together on the earth, and fulfil one high united destiny.





## *SOME REMARKS ON THE MUGHAL CURRENCY.*

By C. J. BROWN, Professor of English at the  
Canning College, Lucknow.

**T**HE coinage of the Mughal Emperors may in general be said to be a local coinage, that is to say, the coins were struck in a number of different towns or districts the name of which they bear; a few coins of Akbar and Jahāngīr are mintless. But in another sense all Mughal coins are imperial, that is to say, all the various mints were under the direct control of the Emperor or his representative, and the privilege of coining was strictly guarded, at least so far as gold and silver were concerned, until in the time of Farrukhsiyar a new system of farming out the mints was introduced.<sup>1</sup>

But although it is generally true to say that the Mughal coinages are local, this may be qualified in one or two ways. Not all coins were intended for general local use; nor were all coins bearing the name of a mint coined at that mint in the regular way, and a few coins were not coined in the mint the name of which they bear.

In this paper I shall endeavour to put forward a few suggestions on such irregularities as have come to my notice during a fairly close study of a large number of Mughal coins of different periods.

Now we may perhaps divide Mughal coins into three groups:—

- (1) Coins minted for regular currency in the regular way, that is, for use in the first place in the town or district whose name they bear.

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1. A historical sketch of the Benares Mint by Mr Barlow in the Calcutta Mint Committee's Proceedings, 1792 Quoted by E. Thurston Note on the History of the East India Company's Coinage, 1753—1835, J.A.S.B., 1893, p. 55.

- (2) Coins minted for the Emperor's particular use, or to satisfy some special fancy, or to commemorate some special event: not all of these were in regular use as money, but it is difficult to draw a hard and fast line between coins of this class which formed part of the regular currency, and those which were in the nature of medals, or presentation pieces.
- (3) Coins minted for ordinary circulation but under extraordinary circumstances

There is no need to dwell upon group (1) here, so we will proceed at once to group (2)—but a few preliminary remarks are necessary

The *rupee* was the standard coin of the Mughal notwithstanding the curious fact that the revenue was reckoned in copper *dāms*. The *mohar* was to be found chiefly in the houses of the nobles, and it must have been largely used for *nazar* or in presents from the Emperor, or as a convenient form for hoarding. (The East India Company *mohars* are employed in *nazar* to this day.) Copper was after the reign of Akbar not coined in large quantities,<sup>1</sup> and it tended to assume the form and standard most convenient for the district in which it circulated, and was probably less carefully controlled. These conditions relative to gold and silver must be taken into account in determining the character of the coins included in this group. Another point to be remembered is the special interest which Akbar and particularly the virtuoso Jahāngīr displayed in the coinage. Consequently most coins of this group will belong to these two reigns.

We shall have no hesitation in placing in group (2) the gigantic coins mentioned by Abu-l Fazl<sup>2</sup>—the *sihansah* or 100 *mohar* piece, the *rahas* (50 *mohars*), the *binsat*

<sup>1</sup> According to De Laet, quoted by Vincent Smith, "The Treasure of Akbar, J.R.A.S., 1915, p. 237, there were 230 000,000 *pasā* in the Royal Treasury at Agra. This would account in great measure for the scarcity of copper of the later Mughals.

<sup>2</sup> *Ain-i-Akbarī*. Blochmann's Translation I. 31.

## 154 *SOME REMARKS ON MUGHAL CURRENCY*

(20 *mohars*), and Jahāngīr's *nūr shāhī* (100 tola *mohar*), *nūr karam* (10 tola *mohar*), *nūr mihr* (5 tola *mohar*),<sup>1</sup> etc., etc. These were used for presentation only. Jahāngīr tells us of a gold *mohar* of 1,000 tolas which he presented to Yādgar 'Alī Khān, ambassador of the ruler of Irān.<sup>2</sup> Few have survived: there is a cast of a 200 *mohar* piece of Shāh Jahān in the British Museum.<sup>3</sup> Of this nature, too, probably, were the gold and silver *tankas* Jahāngīr struck at Kambāyat (Cambay) in the month Dī 1027 A.H.,<sup>4</sup> of which also none have survived.

But there are smaller coins of which we have many extant examples, used for largesse, the silver *nūr afshāns* ("light-scattering"), 1/20th rupee in value, and *khair qabūls* (= "May these alms be accepted"), both struck by Jahāngīr, and the *niṣārs* in gold and silver by Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān, Aurangzeb and Jahāndār. These came from a variety of mints, and were either scattered by the Emperor, or handed over to some trusted officer to present to the poor or to faqirs.<sup>5</sup> The following though less certain instances were probably, on account of their exceptional nature and rarity, used for presentation. The unique gold memorial *mohar* in the possession of Mr. H. Nelson Wright with the head of Akbar on the obverse, and the sun on the reverse. It has no inscription but is believed

<sup>1</sup> *Tūzak-i-Jahāngīrī*, Trans. Rogers. and Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 10: there is a *Nūr Mihr* in the British Museum of Agra, 1028—14 R. q. pl. IX, No. 305 in the British Museum Catalogue of Mughal Coins.

<sup>2</sup> *Tūzak-i-Jahāngīrī*, Vol. I, p. 237.

Mr. W. Hawkins' account of the treasures of Jahāngīr (*Purchas* I, p. 217) quoted in Thomas' "Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire," p. 24, Note 1. A list of huge coins in Jahāngīr's treasury is given: it includes 20,000 gold pieces of 1,000 Rs. each, 500 of 10,000 Rs. each, 30,000 of 20 tolas, 25,000 of 10 tolas, 50,000 of 5 tolas; and among silver coins 50,000 pieces of 100 tolas, 1,00,000 of 50 tolas, 40,000 of 30 tolas, 30,000 of 20 tolas, 20,000 of 10 tolas, and 25,000 of 5 tolas. Mr. S. B. Smith has suggested that these huge coins were merely a convenient form in which to keep bullion; and that sometimes the Emperor presented them as gifts. This seems to me very probable. Coins over five tolas must have been cast not struck.

<sup>3</sup> B.M.C. Introduction, p. LXXXVII.

<sup>4</sup> *Tūzak-i-Jahāngīrī*, Vol. I p. 417.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I p. 247.

to have been struck by Jahāngīr in memory of his father. The Zodiacal Gemini rupee of the 15th year struck at Kashmir<sup>1</sup> during Jahāngīr's stay there, the Capricornus rupee of Fathpūr of 1028-14R.,<sup>2</sup> and probably the very rare Zodiacal mohars and rupees bearing the name of Nūr Jahān from the Ajmere and Lahore Mints were used in presentation from the Emperor to courtiers or to the ladies of the Zenana.

With regard to the remaining Zodiacal coins: the rupees of Aḥmadābād of 1027-13R., Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer and Leo were minted during the period of Jahāngīr's stay in the neighbourhood of Aḥmadābād, and were almost certainly in general use, as many worn specimens prove. The Zodiacal mohars of Agra 1028-14R.—1031-17R. may also have had a general currency, as there appear to have been no other mohars minted in Agra during that period, but it is scarcely likely that the Bacchanalian mohars struck at Ajmere in 1023 were ordinarily current.

Among commemorative pieces may be mentioned the famous Hawk mohar of Asīr of Akbar's 45th year, celebrating his capture of the strong fort of Asīrgarh,<sup>3</sup> the Muḥammadābād Udaipūr mohar commemorating Akbar's conquest of that place in 984 A.H.,<sup>4</sup> the rare couplet rupee of Ajmere of 1024 which probably commemorates the victory of Prince Khurra'n over the Rāna of Udaipūr,<sup>5</sup> and the mohars and rupees struck at Shāhjahānābād in the year 1219 A.H.<sup>6</sup> with the inscription surrounded by a wreath of roses, shamrocks and thistles celebrating Lord Lake's entry

<sup>1</sup> Indian Museum Catalogue, Vol. III. No. 696.

<sup>2</sup> Whitehead "Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors," J.A.S.B., 1912, p. 430.

<sup>3</sup> B.M.C., pl. V., 166.

<sup>4</sup> B.M.C., pl. III., No. 63.

<sup>5</sup> Published in J.A.S.B. Numismatic Supplement, No. XXVI, §156.—The couplet is

\* در اجمیر زن سکه فتح بر زر  
\* جہا نگیر شاہ شہنشاہ اکبر

"At Ajmere struck on gold the coin of victory—Jahāngīr Shāh Shahan Shāh Akbar's Son."

<sup>6</sup> B.M.C., pl. XXVII., No. 1110.

into Delhi in the year 1803 (1218 A.H.). The first two of these were probably not in general circulation because (1) they are exceedingly rare, (2) they are gold mohars, (3) no other coins in gold or silver are known from those mints: they may have been presents to courtiers or the army. The rupees of Ajmere were probably in circulation but the number must have been limited: the Shāhjahānābād pieces were in ordinary circulation.<sup>1</sup> Finally I should like to call attention to a group of coins struck between Jahāngīr's 5th and 14th years, all of which exhibit Jahāngīr's artistic taste. Some of these have been already mentioned, the rest all merit special notice. With one exception they were struck at places where Jahāngīr was residing or stopping at the time, as the following chronological table taken from the *Tuzak-i-Jahāngīrī* will show:—

CHRONOLOGY.	NUMISMATIC HISTORY.
1019. 5th Zī-l-hijja Jahāngīr returns to Agra from Lahore	1019-5R. Mihr—1020-6R. Farwardīn. Couplet mohars and rupees struck with a fresh couplet each month at Agra.
1019. 11 Ardibehisht. Ilahī dates substituted for hijrī dates in the <i>Tūzak</i>	1019-5R. Bahman—1020-6R. Khūrdād. A similar couplet series of rupees struck at Lahore
1020. 11 Khūrdād Jahāngīr marries Nūr Mahall (not in the <i>Tūzak</i> )	
1022. 21 Shahrewar. Jahāngīr leaves Agra with his full camp	
1024. 26 Abān, arrives in Ajmere. News of the defeat of the Rāna of Udaipūr reaches Ajmere.	1023-8-1023-9. Bacchanalian mohars. <sup>2</sup>
26 Bahman arrival of Prince Khurram at Ajmere.	1023-9. First couplet rupee of Ajmere. <sup>3</sup>
1025. Farwardīn: Nūr Mahall given the title of Nūr Jahān.	1024. The 'Sikka Fateh' couplet rupee of Ajmere.
21 Abān Jahāngīr leaves Ajmere for the Dakkan.	1025-11. First couplet rupee again struck but with different arrangement of the legend. <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The difficulty of ascertaining how far such coins were in ordinary circulation is accentuated by the fact that there has always been a tendency in India to hoard coins of unusual appearance

<sup>2</sup> B.M.C., pl. IX., No. 318-319.

<sup>3</sup> P.M.C., No. 920.

<sup>4</sup> In the Lucknow Museum.

## SOME REMARKS ON MUGHAL CURRENCY 157

### CHRONOLOGY.

- 4 Azar : a 10 days' halt at Rāmsar, a village belonging to Nūr Jahān : she gives a great feast.
1026. 22 Isfandārmuz : Jahāngīr enters Mandū  
Khurram arrives at the royal camp from the Dakkan and is styled Shāh Jahān.
1026. 18 Abān ; Jahāngīr leaves Mandū.  
8 Dī : arrives at Khambāyat (Cambay).
1027. 15 Dī = Nauroz 1027.  
25 Dī arrives in Ahmadābād Remains in Ahmadābād and the neighbourhood until 25th Shahrewar 13R. (the advance camp had started on 7th).
1028. 19 Dī : Jahāngīr reaches Fathpūr-Sikrī and remains in the neighbourhood.
- 1 Ardibihisht (14R.) : State Entry into Agra.

### NUMISMATIC HISTORY.

- 1025-11. Couplet rupee of Urdū dar rāh-i-Dakkan—probably struck at Rāmsar.<sup>1</sup>
- 1026-12. The couplet mohar of Mandū.<sup>2</sup>
1027. Nauroz ; orders gold and silver tankas to be struck (none extant).<sup>3</sup>
1027. 13R. Farwardīn-Khūrdād : Zodiacal rupees of Ahmadābād struck.
1028. 14R. Farwardīn—Zodiac mohars of Agra commence.

With regard to the coins mentioned above the following remarks may be made. Not all the months in the Agra series are represented by extant specimens of rupees and mohars : but those which do exist<sup>4</sup> represent the "culminating point of excellence in the Mughal Series" All six months are known of the Lahore Series, and in both cases the coins are minted alternately square and round for successive months, a practice which continues for some years in the Agra mint Each couplet contains the name of the month and the mint, and the design is peculiar to each variety.

<sup>1</sup> As 1025 A.H. ended on 25th Dī, regnal year 11 ; the only other probable place was a camping spot near Rantambhor, where Jahāngīr stopped on 10th Dī when he was visited by the sons of Rāja Maha Singh.

<sup>2</sup> P.M.C., No. 918.

<sup>3</sup> Tūzak-i-Jahangīrī, Vol. I, p. 417.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. No. 894-895 P.M.C. mohars of Abān 1019-5R. and Farwardīn 1020-6R. the couplet on the latter is as follows --

\* بفروردین از آگره فروزان کشف چون اختر

\* ز نور سکه شاه جهانگیر ابن شاه اکبر

"In Farwardīn the gold of Agra became luminous like a star, by the light of the Stamp of Shāh, Jahāngīr, son of Akbar Shāh."

It may be mentioned here that as Agra and Lahore were the two chief residences of Jahāngīr, so also they were the principal mints during his reign and that of his father. This could be deduced from the very full series of coins that issue from these mints. Great reserves of treasure must also have been deposited in them, for in 1016 we find Jahāngīr sending from Kābul a firman to Qilij Khān to despatch 1,70,000 rupees from the Lahore treasury for the expenses of the army in Qandahār.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the Bacchanalian mohars and the couplet rupees of Ajmere, the rupee of Urdū-dar-rāh-i-Dakkan and the Mandū mohar, a comparison of these will, I think, reveal a close similarity of style, and as these are the sole representative coins of these mints in gold and silver for his reign, and as we know one of them must have been struck by his camp mint, it seems fair to conclude that they were all so struck. In addition there is a copper *rawāne* of Ajmere of 1024<sup>2</sup> which closely resembles the *rawānes* of Agra, whence Jahāngīr must have taken his die-cutters. One of the Bacchanalian mohars is inscribed with this couplet.

قضا بر سکه زد کرد تصویر \* شایه حضرت شاه جهانگیر  
حروف جهانگیر والله اکبر \* زروز ازل در عدد شد برابر

Destiny on coin of gold has drawn

The portrait of His Majesty Shāh Jahāngīr :

The letters of Jahāngīr and Allahu Akbar.

Are equal in value from the beginning of time.

In the 'Tūzak' Jahāngīr tells us the origin of this. At the time of his arrival at Ajmere a man was brought 'who represented to me that the name Jahāngīr according to the science of abjad (numerals reckoned by letters), corresponded to the great name "Allah Akbar." Considering this a good omen, I gave him who discovered (this coincidence) land, a horse, cash and clothing.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tūzak-i-Jahāngīr, Vol. I, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> P.M.C., No. 1189.

<sup>3</sup> Tūzak-i-Jahāngīr, Vol. I, p. 253 : both Jahāngīr and Allahu Akbar yield 288,



As the couplet rupee of 1024 of Ajmere seems to have reference to Prince Khurram, so also the mohar of Mandū would seem to be connected with the arrival of the Prince from the Dakkan on 20th Mihr 1026. On the 27th Mihr 'Nur Jahān Begam gave a feast of victory for my son Shāh Jahān' (he had received the new title on the 20th), and this appears to me the occasion of its being struck, for it would give particular point to the introduction of the Begam's name into the couplet, which is as follows:—

بنور جهانی دمد یر تو چو مهر و ماه \*  
سکه مذکور ز نام جهانگیر شاه \*

With the light of the world gave rays like the sun  
and moon

Coin of Mandū from the name of Jahāngīr Shāh.

Another fancy of the Emperor produced the Zodiacal rupees of Almadābād, which were probably, judging from their style, struck at the Almadābād mint, which ranks next in importance to the mints of Agra and Lahore. Zodiac mohars begin to issue from Agra from the first anniversary of his Coronation after his return to Agra, Farwardīn 1028 14R. How far Nūr Jahān was responsible for these interesting coins we cannot tell, but Jahāngīr distinctly states they were his own invention.<sup>1</sup>

The coins bearing the name of Nūr Jahān begin late in the reign—1033-19R is the earliest date, and with the exception of the very rare Zodiac coins, already alluded to, form part of the ordinary currency, an Allahabad coin of 1037-22 in the writer's collection may be another exception, but it resembles the rest in style.

I have dealt chiefly with the coins of Jahāngīr in this article because they present the most ready illustrations of this group, and because we have his own comments in his memoirs on the coinage from time to time. With Group 3 of my classification which presents several interesting problems, I hope to deal in a subsequent article.

<sup>1</sup> Tuzak-i-Jahāngīrī, Vol. II, p. 6.

## *GAMES AND FESTIVALS OF GARHWAL.*

BY THE HON'BLE PT. TARA DUTT GAIROLA AND  
D. A. BARKER, I.C. S.

*Introduction.*—The Garhwalis are by nature a war-like race. The geographical conditions of their country expose them to foreign invasions, and their history is a record of constant internal and external warfare, both defensive and offensive. The very name Garhwal denotes a country having several forts or “garhs.” According to tradition there were not less than fifty-two fortresses in this hilly tract in former times. Its dominion at one-time extended as far as Tibet, Dehra Dun, Bijnor and Kumaon (Almora and Naini Tal).

Legends of the conquests of these outlying districts by the Garhwali heroes or “bhars,” are sung by the local bards up to the present time. The recital of these “Bharwalis” or “Pawaras,” as they are locally called at all festivals and during the long wintry nights, form the chief pastime of the Garhwalis. Such is the warlike spirit of these songs that the young folk who hear them become hypnotised, as it were, and begin to dance and perform extraordinary feats—such as uprooting trees, carrying huge weights, rushing into the burning fire, eating nettles, earth, etc.

During the months of Phalgun and Chait (spring) at even tide, groups of young folk gather round a fagot on the *Panchayati chauk* and sing beautiful songs in choruses and dance in a most fantastic manner. They become fired, as it were, with the amorous spirit of the spring, and the romantic natural scenery which surrounds them.

It is surprising how Garhwali villagers, young and old, will completely forget themselves and plunge headlong

into the enjoyment of these amusements. It is not an uncommon sight to see very old men and women dancing and singing with the younger villagers on such occasions.

But it is to be regretted that as the struggle for existence becomes more severe and as modern civilization continues to invade the hill tracts, the Garhwalis are giving up their old games and festivals. Now it is only in the remote interior of the hills that the primitive social life of the people can be seen. The modernized Garhwali feels ashamed to sing and dance in the way his heroic ancestors did. But the backward villagers from whom our soldiers are mainly recruited, still indulge in these primitive pastimes and are fully imbued with their heroic spirit.

In the following pages some of the most important games and festivals of the Garhwalis will be described.

### THE BEDA OR BAST

With regard to the origin of this game there is a legend which runs as follows. - When the God Vishnu had distributed all his bounties amongst his creatures, He forgot to give anything to the class of human beings called the *Bádís* (a subcaste of Doms who are professional dancers and jesters). On this the *Bádís* approached the deity in a body and propitiated him by their jests and songs. The God was pleased and gave them the *babar* grass and the bamboo tree to earn their livelihood from. He also said that thenceforward these two articles---the bamboo and the *babar* grass, would be held sacred among men. It is on account of this sanctity that special oaths used to be taken on those articles in former times.

Since that day the *Bádís* use the *babar* grass for making a rope which they use for the *Beda* festival and the bamboo pole for the "Lang," which latter festival will be described later on.

When a *Bádi* wishes to perform the *Beda* ceremony in a village, he goes and throws a rope of *babar* grass on the

*Panchayati chauk* as a sort of offer to perform the ceremony. Then the villagers convene a *Panchayat* and decide to hold the festival. The village *Purohit* fixes an auspicious day for the celebration. The programme is settled. The villagers go in a body to the jungle to fetch *babar* grass for the manufacture of rope. Then for several days the villagers are busy with preparing the rope, which in some cases measures over 1,500 yards in length. During the period the rope is being prepared the *Bádi* entertains the villagers at night with singing and dancing. When the rope is ready it is kept in water for several days. A wooden saddle is also made of *sandan* or walnut wood and soaked in oil.

The *Bádi* as well as the *Padhan* or headman of the village keep fast on the evening previous to the day fixed for the ceremony. On the next morning the village *Purohit* performs worship of the local deities and of Shiva in whose honour the festival is held. The *Bádi* also joins in the worship. Then the rope is carried to the top of the hill overhanging the village in a procession. The *Padhan* then ties one end of the rope round a tree, after performing certain worship, in which the *Bádi* also takes part. The other end of the rope is brought down the hill and tied to another tree down in the valley, preferably on the village field.

After the rope has been tied to the posts a watch is kept over it to prevent an enemy cutting any strings from it.

In the meantime a huge concourse of people assemble from far and wide to witness the ceremony and receive blessings from the *Bádi* who is believed to be, for the time being, a representative of God Shiva. All the while music and dancing goes on for the entertainment of the visitors. The villagers invite their friends and relatives to the festivals and incur heavy expenses in entertaining them. The *Bádi* who has kept fast overnight takes only milk and fruit in the morning. Immediately before the appointed

time he bathes and performs some worship. He then performs his own funeral rites as well as of his ancestors, the idea being that the *Bádi* should be prepared for a fatal accident.

Then the *Bádi* is taken to the upper end of the rope on the *Padhan's* shoulders amidst the beating of drums. On reaching the post a short ceremony is again performed in which prayers are offered to Shiva and to the local deity for the safety of the *Bádi* during the performance.

The wooden saddle is then placed across the rope and the *Bádi* made to sit on it. Two sand bags are then tied on the legs of the *Bádi* to keep him balanced on the rope, and a bandage is tied over his eyes. While this preparation is going on, the wife and other members of the *Bádi's* family, stand at the lower end of the rope and rend the sky with wailings and lamentations.

At the appointed hour the *Bádi* is dropped from the upper post and slips down the rope waving a handkerchief in both his hands and shouting "*Jai Jai*," a cry which is taken up by the whole crowd. The sight is most awe-inspiring and pathetic.

In a few moments the *Bádi* comes down to the lower end where the members of his family are the first to welcome him. He is a veritable hero of the day and immediately the whole crowd rushed towards him to pull out his hair, which is believed to have great efficacy in warding off evil spirits. The *Padhan* and others who keep guard over him stop the people from pulling out the *Bádi's* hair. Sometimes free fights take place on such occasions. The *Padhan* then takes the *Bádi* on his shoulders and carries him to the village. On arrival there a short thanksgiving takes place at which the villagers and other spectators make liberal presents to the *Bádi* and his wife and children, while the latter dance and sing songs in praise of their *Thakurs*, the villagers.

The day is celebrated with great *éclat* and a feast is given to the guests. Goats are freely killed. Thus ends

the great *Beda* or rope riding festival of the Garhwalis.

As sometimes the rope takes fire owing to friction against the wooden saddle, fatal accidents were not unusual. For this reason the rite has been prohibited by Government in British Garhwal. Even in Tehri State it is gradually dying out.

The rite of the *Beda* was probably universal in former times throughout the Himalaya and had its origin no doubt in a sacrificial rite. In the Simla Hill States for instance the rite was common in villages inhabited by Paras Ram Brahmans and was deemed to be unsatisfactory if the victim escaped unhurt. For this reason it was the custom to introduce if possible some flaw into the rope so that the victim should be sure to fall. Even in the more spectacular form of the *Beda* as known in Garhwal there are many evidences that the rite was originally sacrificial. As in the *sana* sacrifice the victim has to be ceremonially pure, and the sacrificer—the *padhan*—has to remain in contact with the victim so as to bridge the gulf between the sacred and profane world. It would be interesting in this connection to know what was done with the body of a *Bádi* who happened to be killed during the performance of the rite. The fact of the lower support of the rope being tied to a tree standing on the village fields seems to indicate as the object of the rite the grant of fertility to the soil. A connection would thus be established between the *Beda* and the now obsolescent custom whereby the inhabitants of a village chase a buffalo over their fields hitting it with axes and knives until it dies. Any field which receives blood from the animal is supposed to be greatly benefited.

### THE DADAMANDI BALL GAME.

This game is associated with the Makar Sankrant—a festival which is largely made the occasion of organised amusements in the Hills. The commercial fairs of Bageswar and Thal Baleswar are held on that day and minor

fairs occur at a number of other places. Two of these, held respectively at Dadamandi and at Thal Nadi, both in the extreme south of the Garhwal district, are accompanied by a strange contest between the inhabitants of the neighbouring *paths*. The game is played on a stretch of 7 or 8 acres of fairly level ground surrounded by a wall about 3 feet high. This ground is used during the rainy season for growing rice so that here and there are terrace walls, though of no great height. The object of each side is to carry the ball over the wall at one or other end of the ground and to obtain possession of it there. Until this possession is attained neither party can win however far they may have carried the play into the territory of their opponents. The ball itself is a more or less spherical bag of leather stuffed with odds and ends of cloth, and weighing a few pounds.

About 2 0 p.m., whilst the fair on the high land above the field of play is still in full swing, there appear on the field two standards accompanied by drummers who beat vigorously for some time without any apparent effect. These are the recruiting stations so to speak of the two sides. Gradually a few of the keener spirits are attracted and gravitate towards their respective standards stripping themselves meanwhile of all clothes save a loin cloth. When about ten or fifteen of these prospective players have collected they endeavour to attract others from the crowd above by cheering and dancing round the standards to the accompaniment of the drums. Then, as the laggards still fail to come, a crowd of stripped men scale the bank from the playing field, rush in amongst the crowd and presently emerge again dragging fresh recruits with them. At last about fifty men on each side have collected. It is now only an hour after the time fixed for the game to begin and numerous men are seen here and there still leisurely divesting themselves of their clothes, but the days in January are still short and it is decided to begin. Suddenly a small knot of brown figures is seen to assemble in the middle of

the field and to it gather all the players who are ready to play. The game has now begun.

The small knot of men soon increases until it becomes a seething mass of struggling players all leaning inwards and pushing towards the centre of the mass where a few of the leaders are engaged in fighting for the possession of the ball. There is no putting down of heads and shoving as in a football "scrum;" the players simply lean against their opponents, though a few on the extreme edge of the scrum push with their hands. Nevertheless the scrum is very dense, so dense that eager players on the outside, anxious to get to the centre of interest, jump into the heads of the crowd and drag themselves over heads and shoulders till they can gradually squeeze into a favourable position near the ball. The game would provide admirable opportunities for "scrum" tactics as practised in Rugby football, but reasoned playing is out of the question, partly because the teams are entirely untrained and undisciplined and partly because of the hampering effect of the spectators who cling close to the outskirts of the scrum, occasionally giving a helping push to their side and occasionally chatting with a player who has fallen out for a few minutes' rest. By now nearly one hundred players on each side are struggling for the ball and the scrum moves hither and thither amidst great excitement. Sometimes it collides with a terrace wall—an admirable opportunity for the players to break their legs—and the spectators hold their breath as the scrum begins to rise, as if in a solid mass, and gradually surges up the rise. The atmosphere in the centre of the scrum is by this time fairly warm, the players are weary with trying to keep their feet and the burden of men, climbing over them to get to the ball, is great. Fainting players are dragged from the seething mass, are laid on their backs and flapped vigorously with cloths by the attendant spectators; but in a few minutes they are back again to the scrum. The standards hover on the edge of the scrum and the drummers of the winning side beat



noisily as the ball moves slowly towards their opponents territory. The mass of men is so great that the scrum moves hither and thither as if neither side had any object in view. Suddenly to the surprise of the spectators, and probably of the players, it rushes towards a side wall and collides with it. Judging from the apparent solidity of the scrum one would expect it to bounce off again, but instead it breaks suddenly up and the players on the wall side leap up on to the wall itself. They are soon pushed off on to the other side, however, and have to content themselves with supporting from below the fellow-players who have displaced them. But now, they are up on the wall again and by flinging themselves from the wall against the side of the scrum they gradually drive it away into more open ground.

Excitement now wanes somewhat. The light is already beginning to fade, the aged, the maimed and the unenthusiastic are gradually donning their clothes and moving away from the field towards their homes. Soon, however, interest is revived by a definite movement on the part of the scrum towards one of the goals. It drives down-hill over the terraces, drives against the boundary wall and is soon amongst the boulders of the dry river bed which constitutes the territory of the losing side. The passage of this dense mass of men over a three-foot stone wall is not without dangers and several of the players are carried out after its accomplishment. Play continues, however, without abatement, for one of the losing side has got hold of the ball and is doubled up over it in the centre of the scrum. Climbing is now at a premium for mere punching is of little avail. The pressure from the sides is somewhat reduced but the pressure from above becomes serious for the central players. At length and none too soon, for the day is almost done, one of the winning side gets hold of the ball and the game is over. The time is 6 P.M. Old men say that the game has sometimes gone on till 8-0 P.M. But that was in the good old days.

## *HAKIM MEHDI.*

By S. B. SMITH, Professor of History at the  
Canning College, Lucknow.

CONSPICUOUS upon the high ground which marks the site of the earliest settlement in Lucknow, and not far from the last resting place of the famous citizen Shah Mina, stands the tomb of the Nawab Muntazim-ud-daula Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan Bahadur; the adjacent imambara, where his brother Hadi Ali Khan was laid to rest, is now no more than a grass-grown mound; and the maqbara itself, though picturesque enough when seen against the setting sun, appears forlorn and dilapidated at a nearer view. More permanent memorials of Hakim Mehdi are to be found up and down upon the face of the country. The fine avenue that runs from Khairabad to Sitapur was first planted by him; he built the handsome bridge at Shahjahanpur, and another over the Katli Nadi near Farrukhabad; his house at Fatehgarh is now the station hospital, and a ghat upon the Ganges still bears his name. Nor did he forget the land of his extraction or his birth—"somewhere in Persia he built a bridge,"<sup>1</sup> and in Kashmir an imambara. In Lucknow he founded the charity known as Radde Mazalim, and his family still administer the interest of Rs. 5,35,000 left in trust for this purpose.

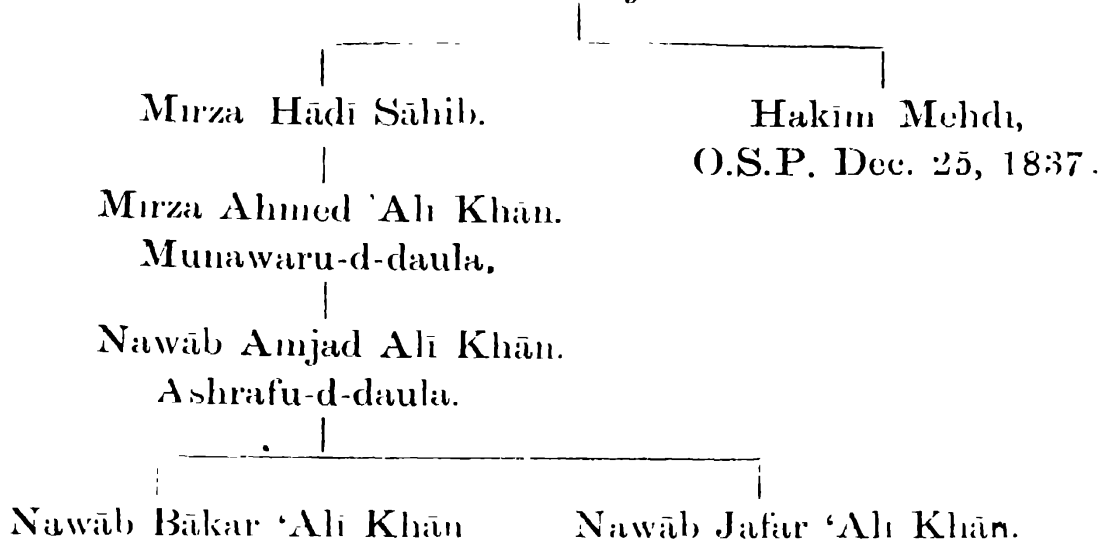
Of his early career little is known. His father Mirza Khwaja Sakhi was a Persian from Tabriz. He settled in

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<sup>1</sup> *Tārīkh-i-Awadh.*

Kashmir and there Hakim Mehdi was born, and hence was known in Lucknow as a Kashmiri. He had one older brother Mirza Hadi Ali Khan, the father of the minister Munawaru-d-daula, whose descendants, the two Nawabs of Shish-Mahal, still dwell in Lucknow.<sup>1</sup>

Mirza Khwāja Sakhi.



The date of Hakim Mehdi's birth is not known, but in 1831 he says of himself "I am an old man, my race is nearly run"<sup>2</sup> and Mrs. Fanny Parks who met him in the same year speaks of him as "an old man, sinking beneath the weight of years"<sup>3</sup> The earliest authentic reference that I have been able to find is the statement of Sleeman<sup>4</sup> that Hakim Mehdi "was employed in the Azimgarh district under Boo Alleë Khan, and during the negotiations for the transfer of that district to the British Government which took place in 1801." After the annexation he returned to Lucknow and in 1804 was appointed Nazim of Mahumdi.

The greater part of Oudh was at this time divided into sixteen chaklas administered under the ijara or contract system. The contractor, known indifferently as Nazim, Amil, Chakladar, or Mustagir, not only compounded

<sup>1</sup> I have to thank Khan Bahadur Abdus-Sam, Nazul Officer, for kindly procuring me the information about the family of Hakim Mehdi from Nawab Jafar Ali Khān.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Lieut. Paton to Mr. Prinsep, July 18, 1831. Oudh Papers, II, 68.

<sup>3</sup> Wanderings in Search of the Picturesque, I, 190.

<sup>4</sup> Journey through the Kingdom of Oudh, II, 74.

for the revenue of his district, but acted as governor with full powers, executive and judicial, supported by a military force.

For the district of Mahumdi Hakim Mehdi agreed to pay Rs. 3,11,000 a year. He continued to dwell in Lucknow, whilst his brother Hadi Ali Khan administered the district with such success that after a few years it was yielding seven lakhs a year. In 1807 Hakim Mehdi acquired the contract for the adjacent district of Khairabad at a jumma of five lakhs. The Marquess of Hastings, who in 1818 passed through Hakim Mehdi's districts, on his way to shoot in the Terai, bears witness to their prosperity under his administration. The country was highly cultivated, not a weed was to be seen, and the people were contented. In reply to his enquiry as to how the peasants were induced to bring so much jungle under cultivation Hakim Mehdi explained "that from the first crop he took nothing, from the second he took a seventh, which he did not augment for two or three years more, till it was seen that the undertaking was decidedly beneficial to the speculator. In that case a fifth of the crop is demanded for government. It is taken in kind, and is the only deduction from the profit of the husbandman. In old cultivated districts a third or a composition for it is demanded by the government."<sup>1</sup> Thirty years later when "the rent-roll of Mahumdi had fallen from seven lakhs of rupees a year under which all the people were happy and prosperous, to one of three under which all the people are wretched" Sleeman found that Hakim Mehdi's name was still treasured in the district with affection and respect.

The Nawab Sadat 'Ali Khan, "who left 14 crores in his treasury and most of his Amils in his dungeons" never interfered with Hakim Mehdi, for he was an able ruler, and unlike his degenerate successors, capable of appreciating ability or honesty in others. He honoured Hakim Mehdi

with his confidence, and "committed to his charge the management of revenue and judicial affairs, and managed the whole of the business of the state in concert with him until his demise."<sup>1</sup> Bishop Heber speaks of him as minister at the time of Sadat 'Ali's death; but there is no record or tradition of his formal appointment to that post. The nominal Minister was Sadat 'Ali Khan's son Samsud-daula; probably Hakim Mehdi acted as deputy for him, just as in the next reign, Agha Mir acted as deputy for the nominal minister Nasir-ud-din.<sup>2</sup>

Sadat 'Ali Khan died July 11th, 1814. Hakim Mehdi, it would appear, continued to act as minister, although the formal appointment of a minister by Ghaziu-d-din was deferred until the Governor-General's visit to Lucknow in the autumn. Unfortunately for Oudh Hakim Mehdi did not get on with the Resident, Major Baillie; and it was probably on his advice that Ghaziu-d-din attempted to have Major Baillie removed, for at a private interview which Ghaziu-d-din had solicited in order to state his complaints against the Resident, he told Hastings that he would put his complaints in writing "and that he referred me for any explanation to Mehdi Ali Khan."<sup>3</sup>

"Ghaziu-d-din complained that Major Baillie dictated to him in the merest trifles, broke in upon him at his palace without notice whensoever he had anything to prescribe, fixed his creatures upon His Excellency with large salaries, to be spies upon all his actions, and above all lowered His Excellency in the eyes of his family and his subjects by the magisterial tone which he constantly assumed."<sup>4</sup> Amongst other petty annoyances he had prevented him from "having the nobut beat at sunrise because the noise of it would disturb the Resident."<sup>5</sup> The Marquess of Hastings was not favourably impressed with

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Nasiru-d-din Haider, dated April 1831, Oudh Papers, II.

<sup>2</sup> Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings, I, 213.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., I, 185-6.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., I, 180.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., I, 206.

Major Baillie and was quite prepared to recall him; he assured the Nawab Wazir "that I considered it no less my official duty than it was my personal inclination to make his authority efficient, and his private position satisfactory."<sup>1</sup> But Ghaziu-d-din lacked the resolution to carry it through. Agha Mir, ("whose known devotion to Major Baillie" Hastings mentions), frightened Ghaziu-d-din into withdrawing all his charges against the Resident. So Major Baillie retained his post, and when the Marquess of Hastings was asked to select a deputy-minister he could only reply "that it would be inconvenient were he (Ghaziu-d-din) to nominate a person whom the Resident represented as systematically adverse to the British Government; as was the case with Mehdi 'Ali Khan."<sup>2</sup>

Agha Mir was appointed instead. So narrowly did Oudh escape an able and honest administration!

Hakim Mehdi continued to dwell in Lucknow and to enjoy the favour of Ghaziu-d-din. He was thus an object of jealousy to Agha Mir, which was all the stronger because, at the beginning of his ministry, his position was not very secure. He therefore jumped at the opportunity of getting rid of Hakim Mehdi, when the latter applied for the contract of Bahraich, offering a lakh more than was paid by the Amil who then held it. The contract was granted and Hakim Mehdi left the capital to take over his new district.

The story of Hakim Mehdi's dealing with the Amil of Bahraich is told by Sleeman and has left a stain upon an honourable career. Amar Singh who had succeeded his father as Amil of Bahraich had amassed a large fortune by good management, and aroused the cupidity of Hakim Mehdi. When he came to take over the district Amar Singh refused to meet him until he had received the most solemn assurances of safety, confirmed with an oath upon the Quran. For some months negotiations were amicably

<sup>1</sup> Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings, I, 183.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 213.

conducted between the old and new amils, until one evening Hakim Mehdi, after a discussion of accounts, on some pretext went out leaving Amar Singh in his tent, where he was immediately set upon and strangled by two of the Hakim's servants. Hakim Mehdi asserted that Amar Singh had poisoned himself, and handed over his body to his family, who found between his teeth the finger of one of his assailants, bitten off in the struggle. Hakim Mehdi appropriated between fifteen and twenty lakhs and escaped being called to account by judicious expenditure, in bribes, of part of the plunder.<sup>1</sup>

The story is unconvincing, and Irwin suggested that it may have been concocted by Agha Mir to discredit his rival. Although Irwin dismisses this possibility it appears more probable than the story as it stands, for no sufficient motive is assigned for a crime which is inconsistent with the whole tenour of Hakim Mehdi's character. He was already a wealthy man, and was not greedy of money for its own sake. Moreover, if he had been guilty it is most improbable that Agha Mir would have let slip this opportunity of attacking him. It is also notable that the Marquess of Hastings, who was accompanied by Hakim Mehdi through his districts from March 17th until April 22nd 1818, does not mention any rumour of this murder, which, it is said, took place "in the end of 1816 or early in 1817."

The favour shown by Hastings to Hakim Mehdi intensified Agha Mir's hostility, and in 1819 he demanded an increase of five lakhs upon his contract. Thereupon Hakim Mehdi, who had gradually been transferring his treasure to Shahjahanpur, in British territory, escaped with his family over the border. According to Heber, Agha Mir "succeeded in having him thrown into prison whence he was only released by the interposition of the British Government."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Journey through the Kingdom of Oudh*, I, 49-53.

<sup>2</sup> *Heber's Journey to India*, II, 80.

For eleven years he lived in exile, at first at Shah-jahanpur, but finding the Sunni Society of that place uncongenial he migrated to Fatehgarh, where he lived in great splendour. Hither, in 1824, he invited Bishop Heber "with the assurance that he had an English house-keeper who knew perfectly well how to do the honours of his establishment to gentlemen of her own nation."<sup>1</sup> The lady in question was the wife of Hakim Mehdi's dewan, who had formerly been a professor of Hindustani at Hertford. Here, too, he entertained Lord Combermere in 1827, when he was described by Captain Mundy as a handsome old man, of courtly address.

During these years Agha Mir, Motamidu-d-daula, ruled in Oudh. Early in his career as minister intrigues prevailed against him and he was for a time imprisoned, but he recovered his position through the intercession of the Padshah Begam, and from this time maintained his ascendancy over Ghaziu-d-din by encouraging him to indulge his taste for intoxicating drugs and liquors "so that he ceased to visit the Resident twice a week as had been his custom and only visited him once in two or three months;" he caused the estrangement between the King and his son and so incurred the enmity of the latter; who is possibly exaggerating when he states that in addition to his salary of Rs. 25,000 p.m. "Agha Mir took from this country the annual sum of Rs. 23,00,000 by his own admission, and Rs. 33,00,000 agreeably to the accounts in the office. The property and jewels of the State which he plundered are out of question. Besides the money which he took away from the treasury during my reign is well known."<sup>2</sup> He steadily resisted every project of reform urged by the British Government, "and yet so able was his administration that in his time the capital and its environs were as safe and well-guarded as any city in India."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Heber's Journey to India, II, 80.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Nasir-ud-din, Oudh Papers, II, No. 21, p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> Maddock on State of Oudh, Oudh Papers, II, p. 27.



On the death of Ghaziu-d-din Agha Mir resigned—but after a show of reconciliation with the King and under the guarantee of the Resident for his personal security he resumed office until December 1827 when he was dismissed.

Nasiru-d-din now intended to appoint Hakim Mehdi and a letter summoning him was actually despatched; the Padshah Begam,<sup>1</sup> however, induced the King to cancel the letter and bestow the office upon a *protege* of her own, Fazl Ali, the reputed father of Mocna Jan. He amassed a fortune of 35 lakhs and resigned in February 1829. During his administration and those of his two successors, Ram Dayal and Akbar Ali, the condition of Oudh went from bad to worse. The streets of Lucknow and the roads in the immediate vicinity were the scene of nightly robberies and murders;<sup>2</sup> there was no system of criminal and civil justice; and though the army which consisted of 40,000 men was scattered over the country to strengthen the hands of the local authorities and secure the payment of revenue it was incapable of performing these duties.<sup>3</sup> At length in deference to repeated representations of the Resident, the King, in June 1830, appointed Hakim Mehdi minister, and gave him the title (amongst many others) of Muntazimu-d-daula by which he is generally known.<sup>4</sup>

Difficulties soon arose between the minister and the Resident. Mr. Maddock was prejudiced against him: he represented him as decidedly inimical to English influence, and wished that he should be either excluded from office or made dependent on himself. In criticism of these views Lord Bentinck writes: “I believe in no such hostility on the part of the minister. He is indisputably one of the ablest men in India, and is not surpassed by any other individual whether European or Native as a Revenue administrator. He saw from the beginning that nothing would satisfy the Resident, but the becoming, to use his own

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<sup>1</sup> The widow of Ghaziu-d-din Haider.  
Sleeman, I, p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> Maddock Memo. on Oudh Affairs, Oudh Papers, March 1832 Reel.

<sup>3</sup> For Hakim Mehdi's titles, *vide* Oudh Papers, II, p. 19.

words, the King of Oudh, and to this inferior position it suited neither his ambition nor his interests to submit. My hope has always been and is, that able as he certainly is beyond all other men to reform the administration, so, cordially assisted by a Resident whose advice, however firm and decided, shall never be wanting in conciliation and respect, he will be equally willing to accomplish this great object."<sup>1</sup>

In pursuance of these views, which had been formed by the Governor-General on the spot, Mr. Maddock was recalled and Major Low was (August 1831) appointed Resident, a post which he was to hold till 1848.

In the meantime serious doubts as to the disinterestedness of Muntazimu-d-daula had been aroused in many quarters, by the grant which he had got from the King of 5 per cent. upon the revenue of the Kingdom, and upon all government disbursements.<sup>2</sup> His own explanation was that he had no intention of appropriating the money, but intended it to accumulate in the treasury, to be presented by him as a gift to the King;—the object of the grant was to establish his influence and authority throughout the Kingdom by proving the high favour he enjoyed.<sup>3</sup> This explanation is borne out by the fact that one of the charges that Nasiru-d-din afterwards made against him was that he had appropriated some of this money.

Muntazimu-d-daula justified Lord Bentinck's faith in him. As soon as he was appointed he had set about the work of reform with energy. In April 1831 the King drew up a memorandum of the reforms already introduced. Public expenditure and superfluous establishments had been reduced; arrears of salaries due for several years had been paid up; he had prepared a book of regulations for the administration of the country and had suppressed the rebels in Mahumdi and Khairabad; already agriculture and trade were showing signs of improvement.

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<sup>1</sup> Minute of July. 1831, Oudh Papers.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Charles Metcalfe's Minute. Oudh Papers, March 1832.

<sup>3</sup> Letter from Lieut. Paton, to Mr. Prinsep, Oudh Papers. II. pp. 69-71.

These reforms had not been carried out unopposed; and when the arrears of the irregular artillery were paid up, preparatory to discharging them, a regular mutiny broke out fomented by the Commander-in-Chief, Muzaffar Ali Khan, and the Padshah Begam.<sup>1</sup>

In July 1831, he had made all preparations for substituting the amani for the farming system throughout the Kingdom. He proposed to retain the existing amils in office as amani managers, placing four collectors over the four divisions of the country, and retaining under his own management the turbulent line of country bordering the Ganges, for five kos inland, where lay most of the jagirs of the King's wives.

One great difficulty in the way of reform was the absence of any class from which reliable subordinates could be obtained. His proposal to appoint Europeans as amils was vetoed by the Governor-General. In reply to the inquiry of the Resident as to whether there were no capable men in the kingdom, "he said he knew none; that here all instruction in business as well as in Arts and Sciences had long ceased; there was no education—no school—no college from whence able men might be obtained. He knew of no Native agents equal to the task before him. . . . it was his opinion that without the counsel and aid of the Resident Oudh could not prosper."<sup>2</sup>

His chief grievance against the British Government was the refusal to allow the Company's troops to assist him in restoring order in the country. The relations between the Company and the Kingdom of Oudh were based upon the treaty of 1801, which stipulated that the Nawab's Government should be defended from foreign and domestic enemies; whilst on his part Sadat 'Ali Khan had engaged "to establish in his reserved dominions such a system of administration, as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and to be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants; and His Excellency will always

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Resident, dated April 26 1832, O. P., No. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Oudh Papers, June 1831.

advise with and act in conformity to the counsel of the officers of the said Honourable Company." This obligation had been systematically evaded by the rulers of Oudh, and according to the interpretation of the treaty by the English authorities, the defence of the Oudh Government against domestic enemies was dependent on the introduction of a good administration. Here then, was a dilemma. "Hakim Mehdi says that reforms cannot be introduced without assistance, H. E. the Governor-General that assistance and countenance cannot be given until reforms are introduced."

But in spite of all difficulties the work of reform did progress. There is a long despatch from Major Low, dated 13th June 1832,<sup>1</sup> in which after bearing witness to the zeal and disinterestedness of the minister he enumerates the reforms accomplished. "A great part of Oudh had been put under amani management; of the total revenue of 140 lakhs 92 were now realised under this system. A court had been established in Lucknow to hear complaints against amils, and corrupt officials had suffered exemplary punishment. "In two cases where Thanadars were proved to have extorted bribes, they were not only fined and flogged but publicly disgraced by being turned out of their district with their faces blackened and mounted backwards on asses." An example which the Resident believed would be most salutary. In the "Five Coss Country" special police had been posted for the suppression of dacoits, with such good effect that the mounted police in the adjoining British district of Allahabad had been reduced.

He had inspired such confidence in his justice that numbers of zemindars, who had set the Government at defiance for years, had voluntarily come in and entered into revenue engagements. There was no open rebellion in the country, and during the last nine months the armed forces had been reduced by over 14,000 men.

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<sup>1</sup>Oudh Papers.

His faults as a public man were that he was too suspicious and liable to give vent to his anger; he was also "too economical in some public disbursements, such as public festivals, when much popularity would be gained by an opposite course at a trifling expense," and he buried himself too much in the petty details of business—"but, take him all in all, I am satisfied that he is the most able and efficient minister that this State has possessed during the last twenty years."

During the last week of July 1832 rumours of an estrangement between the King and Hakim Mehdi began to reach the ears of Major Low, and on the evening of 30th Taju-d-din Husain Khan, the King's Vakil, was sent to request the Resident for a private interview. In answer to the Resident's inquiry as to the real causes of the estrangement Taju-d-din replied, that it was mainly due to the enmity and intrigues of the Padshah Begam who hated the minister and had great influence over Nasiru-d-din; the Nawab had also been unwise because "he had not made a single friend for himself either amongst the numerous Begams, or among the male relatives of the King, or among the courtiers about the Durbar," who were enraged at the curtailment of their stipends and opportunities of speculation; and of whom several had been offended by his harsh language.

On the following day the Resident drove with the King to breakfast at Dilkusha. The King made several ridiculous charges against Hakim Mehdi—that he wished to be King and that he (Nasiru-d-din) was in danger of being poisoned by him; that he had publicly insulted the Padshah Begam and his favourite wife Koodusea Begam; and that he had on one occasion kicked a hole through the portrait of the King's father. The Resident expressed his conviction that the King had been misinformed, and warned him that the dismissal of Hakim Mehdi would cause sore displeasure to the Governor-General. Nasiru-d-din promised that he would take no action without giving

notice to the Resident. In spite of this promise the King began to heap marks of disfavour on Hakim Mehdi. He released his enemy, Muzaffar Ali Khan, from prison, and forbade the minister to attend him at the Khurshed Manzil where he had ordered a camp to be pitched for the whole court. As soon as the news reached the bazars, disturbances occurred in the city. The Resident tried to effect a reconciliation and apparently succeeded. The minister offered humble apologies for any faults of which he had been unwittingly guilty, and the King professed his full forgiveness. But that very night he spent in consultation with his new counsellors, Roshunu-d-daula, Muzaffar Ali, Jafar Ali Khan and Kunwar Ratan Singh—all of them except Roshunu-d-daula, men of the worst character, who urged the King to imprison Hakim Mehdi. The next day the minister was ordered to go to his house, and no official was permitted to visit him; but the King had not the courage to dismiss him though he had the impudence to send a message to Major Low offering him Rs. 25 lakhs, if he would summon Hakim Mehdi and dismiss him from his post; an offer that provoked the indignant reply that "not for 25 crores would he comply with such a request."

On 7th August the King called upon the Resident and informed him that he had made up his mind to transact the business of Government himself, without having any minister at all, and to allow Muntazimu-d-daula to depart from Lucknow unmolested.

On 9th August Hakim Mehdi left his apartments in the palace; to avoid insult he slipped out in the dead of night concealed in one of his women's *rattis*, and retired to his house in the city, the same house that he had possessed for thirty years, for unlike Agha Mir, he had not taken advantage of his position to acquire mansions in Lucknow. It was not until the following March that he was allowed to depart to Fatehgarh.

His fall was commemorated by the poet, Mirza Imam Bakhsh Nasikh, in an ingenious chronogram.

The disastrous results of Hakim Mehdi's dismissal may be gauged by the fall in revenue. For the five months October 1831 to February 1832, it had been Rs. 40,36,000; for the corresponding months of the following year it dropped to Rs. 18,24,000.

Fanny Parks, the Pilgrim in search of the Picturesque,<sup>2</sup> met Hakim Mehdi in Lucknow when he was minister, and renewed the acquaintance at Fatehgarh after his dismissal. She gives us some very pleasing glimpses of him in her diary. In 1835 she found him preparing to celebrate the Muharram; "he was a very religious man and kept the fast with wondrous strictness and fortitude." She visited a shawl factory which he had established to employ a number of destitute Kashmiris, in which three or four hundred workmen were engaged, and a school for boys which he had founded.

After the death of Nasiru-d-din, Hakim Mehdi was again appointed minister

"September 24th 1837 The Nawab Hakim Mehdi has been reappointed minister in Oudh: how happy the old man must be! He has been living at Fatehgarh pining for a restoration to the honours at Lucknow. The Nawab quitted for Oudh; on the first day of his march, the horse that carried his *nakaras* (State kettle-drums) fell down and died, and one of his cannon was upset—both most unlucky omens."<sup>3</sup>

And again on December 25th she records the Nawab's death.

\*    اَنقَادِ حَكِيمِ اَز مَرَاتِبِ  
\*    تَايِخِ بَطَرِزِ نَوْرِ كَمِ كُنِ  
\*    اَز حَا-یِ- حَكِيمِ هَشْتِ بَرِ گِیْرِ  
\*    سَهْ مَرْتَبَهْ نِصْفِ اِصْفِ كَمِ كُنِ

The Chronogram and, this note were communicated to me by Khan Bahadur Abdu-s-Sami.

"The Hakim fell from high honours,  
Write the Chronogram in a novel style  
Take eight from 'Hay' the first letter of Hakim  
Three times reduce by half and half."

ح=8 reduced by half three times gives the figures 4, 2, 1 or writing from right to left 1248

<sup>2</sup> Wanderings of a Pilgrim in search of the Picturesque, II, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> Oudh Papers, Letter from Resident, No. 89.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

In Mr. F. E. Pargiter's second paper on *Earliest Indian Traditional History*, from the Kshatriya sources, which appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for April 1914, on page 284, there is mention made of *Krivi* country, afterwards named Panchála, of which the capital was Hastinápura. Can any of the members of the Historical Society give information concerning this Krivi Kingdom and explain its name?

On page 12 of Mr. D. L. Drake-Brockman's *Banda District Gazetteer*, mention is made of the mint of an ancient city at Parduan in tahsil Mau, which is disclosed in some years in the bed of the Jamuna river, the right or Bundelkhand bank of the river being much cut away in its flow. What is the name of this city, was it Hindu or Buddhist, and where can an account of it be found?

J. R. HILL, KARWI, BANDA, U.P.

There is a manuscript of *Katha Sarit Sagar* in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, which contains an interesting record of great historical value. There is a curious Persian seal on the front leaf of this manuscript in which the name of one Virabhadra, apparently a king, occurs in conjunction with that of one Sultan Selim. From a closer look at the impression it would appear that the seal bears some date consisting of three numerals which

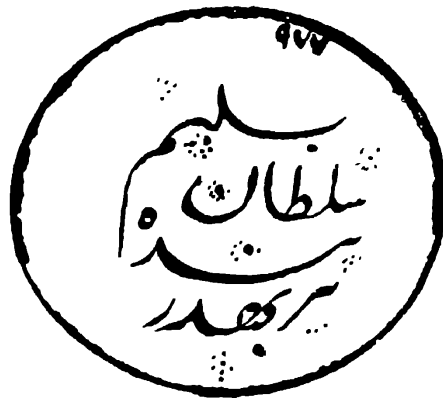


might be read with some confidence as 977.<sup>1</sup> The era which the date represents is not of course specified, but there can be hardly any doubt that it stands for Hijira; and in that case the year in question would correspond to A.D. 1569.

But what are we to understand by the legend—"Virabhadra, the *banda* (slave) of Sultan Selim"! The language of the legend seems clearly to show that Virabhadra was a subordinate prince reigning under the Sultan Selim. But do we know of the existence of any such prince or Sultan about the time to which the seal refers? These are questions which have to be settled first.

I believe this Virabhadra, who must have been a man of letters and the owner of a library of manuscripts, is identical with the Baghela prince of that name, reigning over what now forms the territory of Rewa in Central India in the sixteenth century. He was the author of *Kāṇḍarpa-chudamani*,<sup>2</sup> a gloss (in verse) on Vatsyayana's *Kama Sutra*, in the Introduction of which (verses 4-15) he gives a short sketch of the past history of his family as far as the 4th ancestor. The genealogy therein presented agrees in full with the list of Baghela kings supplied in Cunningham's Report, Vol. XXI, p. 107.

<sup>1</sup> The legend of the seal runs :



I am greatly obliged to the Hon'ble Mr. R. Burn, I.C.S., for his kindly reading this date for me and for helping me with other valuable and suggestive information.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Schmidt, in his *Indische Erotik*, pp. 39-40, is inclined to think that the king Virabhadra was not the real author of the work, but that it was written by a pandit of his court and allowed to be published under his name in return for some reward.

He was a great scholar himself and encouraged learning in others. If his statement in the *Kandarpachudamani* be not an empty vaunt he must be credited with the authorship of numerous works on different subjects.<sup>1</sup> Like his father, the venerable Ramachandra Deva, whose court had been the early home of the renowned musician Tansen, he was a great patron of merits. The remarkable favour<sup>2</sup> he showed towards the famous Naiyayika Padmanabha Misra *alias* Pradyota (or=<sup>o</sup>tana) Bhatta (or=<sup>o</sup>ttacharya) who lived at his court<sup>3</sup> was an expression of his natural liberality of heart towards men of letters. It was under his direction that Padmanabha composed *Sara-dagama*, a commentary on Jayadeva's *Chandra loka* (See Aufrecht's *Cat.* I. 352).

Virabhadra in his *Kandarpachudamani* (end) gives 1577 A.D.<sup>4</sup> as the date of the composition of his work. Padmanabha's *Virabhadra Champu* is also dated in the same year. The 28th verse of the 2nd Chapter and the 1st verse of the 10th Chapter of *Kandarpachudamani*

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Kandarpachūdāmanī* (Sāmyogika Adhyāya, beginning of Chap. 10, verse 2) :

भोज इवायमविरतो नानाविद्यानिबन्धनिमीहे ।

<sup>2</sup> Virabhadra is said to have materially helped Padmanābha in the discharge of his debts. In his वैशेषिक सेतु, a Commentary on *Prasāstapāda Bhāṣya* (See Peterson's *Cat.* of Ulwar MSS., Extracts, pp. 53-4), the latter gratefully remembers the generous qualities of his patron (*cf.* the phrases “अमनिकाचिजमस्य परा मतिः” “अन्यवदान्याद् विशिष्टेन”) and says that by way of returning this act of Virabhadra's kindness he undertook the composition of this work and named it after him Viravariya :

अनुनादणीकता वयमन्यवदान्याद् विशिष्टेन ।

प्रत्यपकारधियायं रचितो मन्वसेतो ऽस्माभिः ॥

(V.B.—Padmanābha here calls his patron by the name of *Vira vara*. This is not a personal name at all, as Pandit Surendralal Goswami in his Preface to *Tarkabhāṣa* took it and which he identified with *Vira Sinha*, King of Bundi, 1341-1419. It is a merely honorific title. Strangely enough I find the same word *Vira* used in the same sense as a qualifying epithet of Virabhadra in a MS. of *Kandarpachūdāmanī*, fol. 31b, lent out to me for inspection by Pandit Vinodhyeswari Prasād Dvivedi :

भूषक वल्लवर्त्तो वीर वीवीरमद्रोऽसी ।

<sup>3</sup> Mm. H. P. Sāstri makes Padmanābha a courtier of Dalapatiraj.

(See the Index of Authors, p. ii, in the Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1904.)

१ हरलोचन (३) चरलोचन (३) रस (६) शक्ति (१) मि विंशते समये ।

काव्यमय युक्त प्रतिपदि पूर्वे पञ्चः कुरकरः । Quoted in Schmidt, “Beiträge zur Indischen Erotik” (p. 40). Both Schmidt and Aufrecht have rightly taken this date (1633) to indicate the Samvat Era.

make it certain that in 1577 A.D. the author was a youthful prince and had not yet assumed the reins of Government.<sup>1</sup> And all this squares with the chronology of the Baghela kings known to history. Virabhadra's father Ramachandra Deva reigned till his death in 1592 A.D., Virabhadra succeeded his father to the throne in the same year, but his reign was cut short by an unhappy accident which ended in his death in 1593.

Now, who could this Sultan Selim be of whom even Virabhadra, himself a king of no mean authority, speaks as his master? From what we knew of mediæval Indian history I am disposed to identify this Sultan with the Emperor Jehangir, for it is to him alone that the epithet Sultan and the Selim are rightly and at once applicable.<sup>2</sup> The dates of Virabhadra and Jehangir also synchronise; and above all, there are events narrated in history which speak of them as being brought closely together. These events are given in the Nasir-ul-Umara (Persian Text, pp. 228-9) and may be summed up as follows:—

In 14 A.E. (=1569 A.D.) Akbar sent some of his nobles to besiege the fort of Kalinjar which Raja Ramachandra Deva had purchased. Seeing no other alternative open the Raja came out of the fort and sent his son Virabhadra to the Imperial Court in attestation of his allegiance.

Now it is probable that Virabhadra went to the Capital as an *attaché* of the new born prince (Selim being born in 1569) and lived there almost all his life. On this assumption only we can discover a meaning in the term *bandu* as found in the impression. And it may be noted in passing that the seal bears exactly the same date (977 A.H.=1569 A.D.)—and the coincidence need not be merely accidental

<sup>1</sup> (a) आलापनविधिरधिकी यूना कथितो नवीनकाम्नायाः ।

श्रीवीरभद्रविदुषा ॥ II. 28.

(b) आदर्शनं विमदयितुं राजकुमारीः समुद्यतारम्भः । X. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The other probable alternative as to the equation of this Selim with the son of Sher Shah is rendered untenable by the facts that the latter could claim neither to the title of Sultan nor to contemporaneity with Virabhadra (having antedated him by several years). Sher Shah's son died in 1554 A.D. (Imp. Gaz. II, 396.)

Virabhadra's literary activities, his heroic exploits, his patronage, his generosity—all these must be assigned to a period when he was only a prince, *i.e.*, a period prior to 1592, the year of his succession to the throne.

These are all the little scraps of information that we can gather from different sources regarding a king who claims for himself the rare honour of being ranked with Bhoja Raja of Dhara.

GOPI NATH KAVIRAJ



# THE SHRANGARA SHATAKA

Ed. by R. P. Dewhurst / I. C. S

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*THE SHRNGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTṚHARI  
WITH AN OLD COMMENTARY IN  
HINDI WRITTEN EARLY  
IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.*

EDITED BY R. P. DEWHURST, I.C.S.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

THESE notes are intended as a brief introduction to the text of an old manuscript, which I received recently from Dr. Venis, and which I have edited at his suggestion. The contents of the manuscript constitute an interesting specimen of early Hindi prose, and the Sanskrit poem, which the Hindi commentary explains with great fulness and care, is a characteristic and brilliant example of Sanskrit poetry of the classical period. The manuscript consists now of 50 leaves, each ten inches long by four inches wide, and, with the exception of the first and last leaf, each leaf bears eight long lines, containing on an average about sixty letters, on each side. These 48 leaves are numbered on the second page of the leaf, the writing on each of which is upside down as compared with that of the first page. One leaf, viz., that which was originally numbered 49, is missing out of the complete manuscript of 51 leaves. The first leaf contains only seven lines on one side, while the last leaf has nine lines on one side, these lines including the final note recorded by the scribe, which shows that the manuscript was written by an amanuensis, who spelt his name Kisor Das and who completed his task on Monday, Magh Badi the third 1683 Samvat (i. e., January 1627 A. D.). The 51st leaf bears a note on the back in modern writing यह प्राचीन हिन्दी गद्य में टीका है but the word प्राचीन seems to be used in the



sense of ancient, not eastern as was originally supposed by those into whose hands the manuscript first came.

The manuscript is a Hindi commentary on a hundred Sanskrit stanzas, which purport to constitute the famous Shrġgāra-Shataka of the poet Bhartṛhari. Only 98 of the stanzas given can, however, be traced in the two printed texts of Bhartṛhari's poems, which I have had available for reference, and the numbering of the stanzas differs throughout. The very first stanza given in the manuscript is printed both in the Bombay text (1911, Vaibhava Press) and in Gopi Nath's edition (with translation, 1914) as being the first stanza of the Vairāgya Shataka of Bhartṛhari. The stanzas numbered 5, 63, 73, 76, 81 and 95 are to be found only in Gopi Nath's edition, and Nos. 13 and 100 in the Bombay text only, while Nos. 62 and 85 are not traceable anywhere.

It is clear that in the case of poems like the three Shatakas of Bhartṛhari, which consist of isolated stanzas constituting a separate little poem complete in itself, resembling in this respect the quatrains of 'Umar Khayyam, and differing constantly even in metre, the order of the stanzas is not a matter of any significance or consequence. The numbers of the lines quoted from the three Centuries in Apte's Sanskrit dictionary show that he referred to a text with an order differing slightly from the order given in the Bombay text, which I have used for purposes of comparison. The metres actually used in the stanzas written in the manuscript include the following familiar metres, which are of constant occurrence in the three Shatakas, *viz.*, Shikharinī, Anuṣṭubh, Vasantatilakā, Shārdūlavikrīṭa, Sragdharā, Rathoddhata, Mālinī, Hariṇī and Āryā, and they also include one example each of two uncommon metres, the Shālinī (stanza No. 25, corresponding with No. 3 in the Bombay text) and the Dodhaka (stanza No. 54 = No. 9 in the Bombay text). The latter metre, which does not occur in that thesaurus of uncommon metres, the fifth canto of Bhāravi's Kirāṭarjuniya, has, like the Drutavilambita metre, a strongly dactylic beat,

consisting of three dactyls followed by a spondee, repeated four times.

It is curious to observe that some one through whose hands the manuscript has passed was evidently puzzled by the fact that he could not trace the opening verse of the Sanskrit in the poem, from which it purported to be taken. He accordingly wrote over the word **सिंगार**, which is written in red ink, the word **नीति** in black ink, presumably because he found the first line in some edition or manuscript of Bhartrhari's third century poem, the Nīti Shataka.

A mistake has been made by the scribe in numbering the stanzas from No. 80 onwards. He wrote the number 79 twice, with the result that when he had completed No. 98 and its commentary, he was compelled to follow it by No. 100. This, together with many other indications, tends to suggest that the scribe was not himself the author of the Hindi *ṭikā*, but only a very careless and unintelligent amanuensis. He prefaced his transcription with the words **सिंगार सतु लिख्यते** instead of **शृंगारशतकं लिख्यते** and ended it with such solecisms as **सुभमस्तु** and **सुभं भवत्**. It is not likely that a commentary on a difficult Sanskrit poetical work could have been produced by a man of these limited attainments, and there are many mistakes, both of omission and commission, in the text throughout which make this conclusion absolutely certain. We find, for instance, **षलु** for **खलु** and **छ** repeatedly for **च** in the Sanskrit, and there are many omissions and confusions in the Hindi commentary, which show that the writer was not following the sense of what he was writing. In stanza No. 59 both in the Sanskrit text and in the *ṭikā* he writes the meaningless **मयूरवान्** (which also spoils the metre) for **मयूखान्** (rays), with a dot under the **व** to show that **व** and not **ब** must be read. Again in stanza No. 95 both in the text and commentary he writes **सुखा** as the conjunctive participle of **खप्** instead of **सुप्ता**, the word written being an absolute barbarism. The printed texts, it may be noted, both read **नीति**. Similarly in the commentary

on stanza No. 46 the barbarous third person perfect plural form **सेन्दिरे** is to be found.

Besides the hundred stanzas purporting to constitute the Shrġgāra-Shataka, there are four other Sanskrit-verses quoted incidentally, and each of these is explained in Hindi. After the 46th stanza of the manuscript (the 34th of the Bombay text), which ends with the didactic maxim **विपदि हंत सुधापि विषायते** (in misfortune, alas, even ambrosia tastes like poison), a stanza is quoted from the Kirātārjunīya (Canto IX, line 30) of Bhāravi, briefly called **किरात** in the commentary, illustrating the same sentiment. This stanza, which is in the Svagatā metre, ends with the words **दुःखिते मनसि सर्वमसह्यम्** (to a mind in distress everything is unbearable). Similarly, after the 47th stanza (No. 61 in the printed text), in which the impotence of human powers before the god of love is emphasised, a stanza from the Prabodhachandrodaya, the drama of Kṛshna Mishra, embodying the same idea, is cited and expounded. Again after stanza No. 81, which as already noted does not occur in the Bombay text, in order to illustrate the meaning of the word **परिमल** in the Sanskrit, the commentator quotes a stanza in the Mālinī metre from what he terms the **माघकाव्य**, which is really the Shishupālavadha of the poet Māgha. In the commentary on the same stanza a line (No. 296) is also quoted from the lexicographical work known by the name of Amara Kosha to explain the meaning of the same word **परिमल**.

Lastly, after stanza 82 (No. 35 in the Bombay text), in order to explain the meaning of the word **किलेकिंचित्** a stanza is cited from a work styled the Shrġgāra Dīpikā. I have not been able to trace any poem bearing this name, though a work known as the Shrġgāra Tilaka is cited in Apte's dictionary and mentioned in the bibliography given at the end of Macdonell's Sanskrit Literature.

These are the only extra stanzas found on the existing leaves, but the opening words on the 50th leaf show clearly that on the missing 49th leaf a well-known

shloka had been quoted, which gives the names of the eight different kinds of sāttvika bhāvas, and which runs as follows :—

संभः खेदोऽथ रोमांचः स्वरभंगोऽथ वेपथुः ।  
वैवर्त्यमश्रु प्रलय इत्यष्टौ सात्त्विकाः स्मृताः ॥

In the manuscript the Sanskrit verses are written with red ink, and the Hindi ṭikā with black ink. The writing is very large, bold and clear, and consequently nearly all the leaves can be read with great ease. The exceptions are the leaves numbered 23, 24, 50 and 51. The first two of these have both had fairly large pieces torn out of the middle of them, and are also badly blurred in places. The last two leaves are torn and ragged along the end of every line, and the first of them is considerably blurred in several places. By referring to the Sanskrit, which is commented on, and to the context, and by familiarity with the general style of the writer, it has been possible to restore the text of the last two pages, but the first two damaged pages have not yielded results which have been so satisfactory, though a conjectural attempt has been made to restore them completely.

Both the Sanskrit and the Hindi, but particularly the latter, abound with errors of all kinds, *e.g.*, haplography, dittography, omissions of letters and even words, wrong spelling and inconsistent spelling, but most of these errors are so obvious that very little difficulty has been experienced in dealing with them. Many of them, if uncorrected, would destroy the sense completely, *e.g.*, नाहीं “not” is twice wrongly written for नाईँ meaning “like.”

The chief interest in the manuscript naturally lies in the language of the Hindi commentary. The spelling of this is peculiar and utterly inconsistent. The postposition विषे, which appears nearly always (मांझ and मध्य being other substitutes) where में would be used in modern Hindi, is to be found written विषे, विषे, विषि and विषि.

There is great confusion and inconsistency in the use of the nasals and sibilants. The sibilant letter ष is invariably

used, where **ख** would be employed in modern Hindi. There is also great confusion between **य** and **ज**. Even in quoting Sanskrit words **ज** is sometimes used, where **य** occurs in the original Sanskrit.

The spelling in the case of the vowels is very anomalous. **ई** is always written for initial long "i", **ऐ** for **ऐ** and **औ** sometimes, for **ए**, while in all words beginning with "o" the consonant **व** is written before the vowel. Thus we find **वोष्ठ** "lips", **वोभिल** (modern Hindi **बोभल**) "out of sight," **वोषध** "medicine" and **वोट** "covering."

The formation of the vowels "u" short and "u" long when initial is also peculiar, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between them. There is also no consistency in their use, the word **उत्कंठा** "longing" being for instance found in the same line with a short and a long initial vowel.

The use of anusvāra is extensive, but very irregular and illogical. We find, for example, on the same page both **इतनी बातें** and **इतनी बातें**, which also illustrates the loose use of the diphthongs "e" and "ai", which pervades the manuscript. On that same page, **बानों** occurs as the equivalent of the Sanskrit **वाचः**.

The vocabulary employed is extensive and includes many obsolete and dialect words, for which dictionaries may be searched in vain. The words used are almost, without exception purely Hindi or Sanskrit in origin. The only unmistakeable exceptions are the Persian **بار**, which occurs duplicated thus, **बारीक बारीक**, as the rendering of the Sanskrit **प्रतनु**, and **बिह** ( ; ) a bowstring. There are, however, a few other words, which may be of foreign origin. A peculiar word **गयार** occurs several times in the sense of unpleasant or disagreeable. It seems to me probable, having regard to an idiom containing a very similar word current in modern Avadhi Hindi, that this word is a corruption of the Arabic **غير**. There seems little room for doubt that **नीक** and **नीकी** which are of constant occurrence, are derived from the Persian **نیک**. Lastly, the curious word **सिलसिली**, which also occurs in the *Satsaī* of *Bihārī Lāl* (Doha 252, vide

my article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for January 1915) is found in this commentary, and it seems difficult to account for it except as a corruption of the Arabic **سلسلة**, meaning a chain.

Among the Hindi words, which occur in the commentary, the following seem to me the most noteworthy :—

**टिपारी** a box (an inverted from **पिटारी**, the Skt. **पिटक** and the diminutive affix **रा**). This inversion is common in rustic Hindi, *e.g.*, **Nakhlau** for **Lakhnau**, **ऐंचि** pulling (a dialectic variant for **खेंचना** to pull, Skt. **आ+कृष**), **जौन्ह** and **जुनहार** moonlight (Skt. **ज्योत्स्ना**), **कुची** key (the modern **कुंजी**, Skt. **कुञ्जिका**), **देदीप्य** and **देदीप्यमान** shining (from the Skt. intensive **देदीप्यमान**), **उरन** out of debt (modern Hindi **उरिन**, Skt. **उद्** plus **ऋण**), **आउ** life (Skt. **आयु**), **उताइल** haste (modern Hindi **उतावल**, Skt. **त्वर**), **उकार** belching (Skt. **उद्गार**), **माथे** forehead (Skt. **मस्तक**), **भौहें** and **भौहनि** eye brows (Skt. **भ्रू**), **छांछ** shade (Skt. **छाया**), **खप्पर** skull (modern Hindi **खोपड़ी**, Skt. **खर्पर**), **ढीमर** fisherman (Skt. **धीवर**), **अंतराउ** obstacle (Skt. **अंतर**), **काइल** cowardly (Skt. **कातर**), **समो** time (Skt. **समय**), **मिस** stratagem (Skt. **मिथं**), **इछा** and **ईछा** wish (Skt. **इच्छा**), **बिनती** prayer (Skt. **विनति**, prostration), **परीत** ghost (Skt. **प्रेत**), **बेरा** time (Skt. **बेला**), **घरीक** one ghari (made by adding the numeral **एक** to **घरी**, the modern Hindi **घड़ी**, Skt. **घटिका**), **पलास** and **पालास** the dhak tree (Skt. **पलाश**), **उसास** a sigh (Skt. **उद्** plus **सास्**), **उद** and **उही** rising (Skt. **उदय**), **आग्रागु** smelling (Skt. **आघ्राण**), **तनक** a little (Skt. **तनुक**), **गरेया** and **सरेया** a vessel (Skt. **गराव**), **चेरे** servants (Skt. **चेटक**), **ठीर** place (Skt. **स्थावर** fixed), **उनए** and **जनए** raised (Skt. **उज्जत**), **कंघु** and **कंघुकी** a bodice (Skt. **कङ्घुक**), **पीडुरी** calf of the leg (Skt. **पिण्डक** plus **ली** diminutive), **भाति** way (Skt. **मिथता**, from **भिद्** to break), **भांडार** store (Skt. **भाण्ड** + **आगार**), **नाउ** and **नाउं** name (Skt. **नाम**), **चकटरे** guessing (modern Hindi **चटकल**, Skt. **चर्च** plus **कलन**), **बोमिल** and **बोमिल** out of sight (Skt. **अगीचर**), **भौर** whirlpool (modern Hindi **भंवर**, Skt. **भ्रम**), **उज्यारी** bright (Skt. **उद्** plus **ज्यज्**),

युगत suitable (Skt. युक्त), बीजन a fan (Skt. व्यजनं), बिजुरी lightning (modern Hindi बिजली, Skt. विद्युत्), सुवा parrot (Skt. शुक्र), बटपरा footpad (बाट a road, Skt. बाट, plus परा falling, modern Hindi पड़ना to fall).

There are many Sanskrit words which occur practically unaltered or with only the addition of the final short u, *e.g.*, मर्दनु rubbing, गर्वु pride, उपवीतु putting on the sacred thread, चमत्कार shining, बासना clothing, श्लेष paronomasia, कक्ष harsh, तात्पर्य meaning, आग्या (आज्ञा) order, जंघ (यंघ) contrivance, गुह्येन्द्र private part.

There are also several words, the meaning of which is clear from the context, but the derivation of which is doubtful or quite obscure. The following is a list of most of these words below, with a tentative derivation of some of them :

मसौली fat, गदबूल lotus flower, अहित, with or in the presence of, टुंइयां a small parrot (perhaps connected with the modern Hindi टुंज tiny), चोदर fragments (perhaps derived from छुद्र small), गोटमटारौ round and raised, जौगरी folds of skin on the abdomen, चाषूट a stone, छतना roots or sprouts, एडाई twisting or breaking, न्यान meaning apparently no other (Skt. न plus, अन्यत्), भंडिमा a foolish or improper speech, पोई strung (referring to jewels), कोद direction, लकवाई a storm of rain (perhaps connected with लुक्ना to hide the idea being apparently that of a storm so violent as to drive people indoors), कुरा a flower (perhaps the oleander, modern Hindi करवीर).

The general style of the Hindi may best be judged by taking the only passage of independent prose, which occurs in the commentary. After commenting on the 51st stanza (60th in the Bombay text), the purport of which is that not even Brahma is powerful enough to prevent a woman from getting what she wants, the commentator remarks that this is illustrated by a story in the Bhāgavat, which he proceeds to relate. I append a transliteration of this story, the tenour of which is much too outspoken to please modern taste. It runs thus, the curved line over

long vowel or diphthong being chosen for the purposes of this extract to denote its nasalisation by anusvāra : Ek samay Kasyapu sandhyā samay vishē sandhyā kai Ishvar kau sumiranu karat baiṭhe hute. Tab itnē bīch Kasyap ki strī Ditithi kāmū ju ati byāpyau tab Kasyap ke āgē ṭhārhi bhai thārḥē hvaikari kahan lagī ki, “ Aho prāneshvar Kasyap, tumhāre layē yah kāmū mohi ati āni byāpyau hai, su mere kām kī sānti karahū aru dekhahu Aditihī ādi dai, jītīk merī sapatnī hai su tini sapatnīni ke putrani kau sukhu dekhet mere param santāpu hotu hai, merē putru nāhī su mokahū kṛpā kari ratidānu dehu, mopar anugrahu karahu. Tab yah suni Kasyap yah bichārī ki, Bhāi, ab ki yah sandhyā samo hai, ratidānu dībe kahū uchitu nāhī, su jau laū yah sandhyā bīchu jāi tau laū haū yāhi bātani lagaū.”

Yah misu kari Kasyapu Ditihi bātani lagāut hai, “ Aho Diti bahutu nikī tum bhalī bāt kahī hai. Ju kachhū tumhārai ichhā hai su haū karaū. Tā strī kau manorathu ko na karaī jā strī kī sangati arthu dharmu kāmū mochh hotu hai. Aru strī kī sangati grahasthu aur tini hu āshraman kī pālan karatu hai. Aru apunu sansār samudr ke pār hotu hai. Su strī aisī baṛī hai Aru strī purush kau ardhāngu hai. Aru strī aisī hai jākai bal grhasthu baṛe ripu indriyani jītat hai, aur tini hū āshramani indriyani dagāvati hai. Su tini indriyani ham tumhārai bal anāyās hī jītat hai, jaisē garhpatī garh ke bal shatrūni jītat hai. Tāte sunuhu Diti, jau laū hamārī sampūrṇ āu bīti hai tau laū ham tumahi uran na hvai sakihaī. Tātē abahi hamārī ek binati manahū. Abahi yah mahāghor berā hai. Su ihi berā bhūt parit phirat hai, aru Mahādev phuni abahi phirat hai. Su Mahādev jau dekhihai tau ham par dukhu pāihai, su tum ghariku dekhahu ” Itnī bāt jab hī Kasyap kahī Diti ke man ekau na āi. Kāmū ju ati hī byāpyau su daurikai Diti Kasyapu jāi gahe aru ati ātur hvai ratidānu māngan lagī, tab Kasyap man madhy dukhu pāikai Isvar saū aparādhu kshamāikai Diti kahū ratidānu det bhae. Su tātē ihi prakār strī ju kachhu karyō chāhai tākau antarāu na karahī.



This passage is sufficiently long to illustrate the vocabulary and the type and structure of the language employed. The inconsistencies and idiosyncrasies of the spelling have been left untouched in reproducing it. In editing the text obvious errors have been eliminated as far as possible, but the peculiar grammatical forms and terminations have everywhere been left intact, and variant spellings have not been altered.

I may note that the Sanskrit of those stanzas in the manuscript, which have been traced in the published texts of Bhartr̥hari, differs very much from the printed text. There are very few stanzas in which some slight verbal variation does not occur, and in many the difference is considerable, as will be seen from the notes which I have appended to the text. In one case a stanza (No. 14) of the manuscript is made up of two half-stanzas (parts of Nos. 51 and 52) of the Bombay text, both of which are in the Shikharinī metre. There is a quaint touch in the commentary dealing with the 20th stanza of the manuscript (No. 19 of the Bombay text). The commentator, after supplying two equally indelicate alternative explanations of the Sanskrit verse, apologizes for the nature of the reference and throws the blame on the poet, remarking “*Ṭikā kau karttā tau jaisau kabi kabitva kīnhaũ taisau bakhānyaũ.*”

### GRAMMATICAL NOTES.

An analysis of the grammatical forms used in the Hindi of the commentary tends to show that the language employed is of the western Braj Bhākhā type.

The noun unless already ending in a vowel usually adds a short u in the nominative singular, and the accusative case is formed by adding *हि*. The plural is formed by the addition of *नि*, *अस्तारेनि* stars, *आवरनि* letters (Skt. *अक्षर*), *मत्स्यनि* and *मीननि* fishes, *उपाइनि* contrivances, *वस्तुनि* things, *खेरेनि*

slaves, दूतनीनि and दूतनीनि so many, ऐक्षिनि such, तरंगनि waves, चीगहेनि marks, मायानि illusions, जौगरीनि abdominal lines, कांदरानि roots, पेहनि trees. The only instances of other plural forms noticed are पाखें eyelashes and भौहें eyebrows. The post-positions are विषे (Skt. विषय), मध्य, मांभ, माभ, मह and महं for the locative, ते, तें, तैं and सो for the ablative, कहु, कहं कै, कें, के, की and की for the genitive, पर and पहं for the dative, करि for the instrumental, and तन in the sense of towards.

Adjectives are not numerous, and the following are the chief instances occurring :

बड़े large (Skt. बृह), उजरी white (Skt. उद + ज्वल), सुधी straight (modern Hindi सीधा, Skt. सिद्ध), पराये and पराओ belonging to another (Skt. पर), अकेली alone (Skt. एक plus ल), ढीले slack (Skt. शिथिल), निहचें certain (Skt. निश्चय), निकामी devoid of desire (Skt. निष्कामी), ऊंची high (Skt. उच्च), प्राय resembling, बारीक thin (Persian ریز), भीने thin (Skt. क्षीण), आधरे blind (Skt. अन्ध).

The pronominal forms are much more numerous. For the personal pronouns we find in the first person हों I, मोकहुं of me, मोपहं for me or on me मोहि me, हम we, हमहि us, and in the second person तू thou, तेरें thine, तोहि thee. Varying forms of the demonstratives are very common, e.g., in the singular आ, या, यह, ता, इहि उहि, तिहि and in the plural वे, वै, ए, ऐ. ति, ते, एउ, वो इनि, तिन, तिनि, उनि and जनि. For the relative pronoun we find in the singular जु and जा and in the plural जि and जिनि. The interrogative appears in the forms को, कहा, काहे inflected and काहि (accusative).

The cardinal numbers occurring are एक and एकु one, दो and द्वे two, सात seven and चाठ eight. The forms तीन्वी all three, चौहु all four, also occur, in addition to दुहु both.

while the full series of ordinal adverbs is found up to seventhly, *viz.*, प्रथम, दूसरें, तीसरें, चौथें, पांचयें, छठें, सातयें in addition to the ordinals दूसरी and तीसरी.

Conjunctions and particles are numerous. The most common are अरु and, फुनि then (Skt. पुनः) and औ if, while. The following also occur, *viz.*, पै then (Skt. पर), तहाँ then, इहाँ and ईहाँ here, औ and, उ, वै, हू and ई emphatic particles, के whether, कछू (modern कुछ, Skt. किञ्चित्), कित when, तउ still, तर below, इत उत hither and thither, पाछे (usually nasalised पाछें behind), the modern Hindi पीछे, (Skt. पश्च), अग्र and आगे forward and आस पास near, this being the only instance found of the meaningless appositive, which is so common in modern Hindi speech. The phrase बीच ही बिच "in the very middle," shows a curious shortening of the vowel of the repeated word.

Verbal forms are naturally very abundant, but they occur almost entirely in the third person, mostly the third person singular, and they do not supply material for a complete paradigm. The copulative verb "to be" occurs in the forms हौं I am, आहि and है he is, आहिं and हैं they are and हुते they were. By far the most common form of the verb is the present tense formed by adding हौं, है or हैं to the present participle, which ends in तु for the masculine singular, ति for the feminine singular, त् for the masculine and ती for the feminine plural. In the case of causal verbs the endings of the participle ought by analogy to be आवतु, आवति, आवत and आवती, but for the feminine plural the form with a short final i is always found. उ is often found substituted for वि. I have noted the following forms. The manuscript is careless and inconsistent in its spelling, and the final short u of the third person singular is often not written.\*

विराजतु and विराजति shining, प्रगासत (Skt. प्रकाश) revealing, रणत rattling, रहतु remaining, बर्तत turning, जानतु knowing, स्फुरत shining, लगतु and लागतु touching, बुभावति explaining, चलति moving, भ्रमतु wandering, जारतु burning, हालत being powerful, सोहत shining, होतु and होति being, जातु and जाति becoming, वरतु burning, कहतु saying, करत and करतो doing, पावत and पाउत obtaining, गंवावतु and गंवाउतु causing to lose, अवलोकित seeing, नाचत dancing, चितवति seeing, आरोपतु causing to grow, परत falling, बकत talking, बढावत. बढाउत, बढावति and बढाउति causing to increase, सेवत serving, फिरत moving, पुकारतु calling out, धरतु placing, चलत moving, हरतु taking, डरपत fearing, काढतु extracting, बढतु increasing, उपजावति causing to grow, उपजतु and उपजातु growing, काटति cutting, देति giving, बोलतु calling, अर्पति giving, वेधति piercing, होमति sacrificing, मारत striking, प्रज्वलतु blazing, विचारतु thinking, बसति living, मथत churning, वर्णत describing, कंपाउत causing to tremble, पारत crossing, खसावत dragging, सकतु being able, आउतु and आउति coming, बीतति passing, पहिरत wearing, चुंबत kissing, करवाउत causing to do, गर्जतु thundering, सिखवत् teaching, ग्रहति seizing, छांडतु abandoning, बांछत desiring, लसतु shining, पियत and पीवत drinking, विकसतु bursting open, बहत blowing, देतु giving, बचावति causing to escape, रांधतु cooking, जीततु conquering, दुकावत concealing, डगावतो causing to wander, उपदेशत teaching, स्रवत pouring, कहावतु being called, जीवतु living, चुभत piercing, निंदतु blaming, सकुचति shrinking, राखति keeping. The only forms of the present participle which I have traced, which do not conform to this rule, are रोकते stopping and त्यागतौ abandoning.

The past tenses are formed from the perfect participle with or without the addition of the verb "to be." This participle is formed generally by adding यौ to the root of

the verb. The masculine plural ends in ए and the feminine, both singular and plural, in ई.

The following forms occur, viz., कर्यौ, करे, करी, 'कौनी, कन्हौ and कौन्ही made, डार्यौ put down, रक्षौ remained, भयौ, भए and भये become, मिल्यौ mixed, आयौ and आई come, दयौ and दई given, लग्यौ attached, लगायौ caused to attach, गयौ, गयि and गए gone, ग्रस्यौ seized, बखान्यौ (nasalised) related, भौंजे wetted, बैठे seated, नीकासे taken out, खायौ eaten, कछौ and कही said (the modern masculine form कहा also occurs), काटे cut, लीने, and लये taken, अलसानी made lazy, भाये pleased, धरे placed, मुंदे closed, सौंचे watered, पसारी stretched, मेलि caused to mix, भरे and भरी filled, छाई covered, धोई washed, घस्यौ rubbed, छूटे and छूख्यौ released, चढ्यौ mounted, चीन्ही recognised, उयौ risen, गहे seized, व्याप्यौ enveloped, लिखी written, दुकायौ hidden, ग्रस्यौ seized, चांछ्यौ let go, ढहंक्यौ deceived, बांधे fastened, हय्यौ seized, सहि endured, बहकायौ deceived. The Eastern Hindi form of the perfect only occurs once, the solitary instance being दएस gave (the modern Eastern Hindi दिहिस).

Futures are very few indeed, and they are all of the Western Hindi type. The future in ब derived from the Sanskrit ending भव्य, which is characteristic of Eastern Hindi dialects, does not occur at all. The syllable "ih" which, according to Grierson (Vol. VI., page 6 of the Linguistic Survey of India) is characteristic of the future in the Shauraseni group of dialects, is found in all the futures which I have been able to collect from the manuscript, viz., करिहै will do, रहै will be, जैहै will go, जीहै will live, देखिहै will see, पाइहै will obtain, बौतिहै will pass, and सकिहै (plural) will be able.

Imperatives are not very common. The usual ending of the singular is उ and ए (and nasalised ए ) for the plural

I have noted the following: मानहु admit, मनु think, कहहु say, देखु and देखहु see, सुनु and सुनहु hear, भागु run away, सोवहु sleep (third person plural), देहु give, करु and करहु do. There are also a few forms ending in बी and बी, which come from the same origin as the Eastern Hindi future in ब and which like it do not change for person or number (*vide* page 30 of Greaves' Grammar of the Ramayan). The following occur, *viz.*, जानिबी know, जानिबी know, रहिबी remain, दीबी give, देखिबी see, and आलिङ्गिबी embrace. Lastly, there are instances of the respectful imperative, such as कीजै please do, ह्वै and ह्वजे please become, बुझिये please understand. One imperative form found, *viz.*, जाहि go thou (second person singular) seems to be quite anomalous.

The aorist is of fairly frequent occurrence and I have collected the following instances, *viz.*, होइ, होहिं, होहि and होही (with further variations by the use of nasalisation) may be, डारै and डारै may put down, जाइ and जै may go, रहै may remain, रोकहिं may stop, जानै may know, पीवै may drink, करौ I may do, जाउं I may go, पूछै may ask, पारै may pass, प्रजरै may burn, करै, करहि and करहौ may do, कहावै may be called, चाहै may desire, लगाज I may attach, रुकै may stop, सकै may be able, खावै may cause to eat, देखै may see, सिद्धिं may worship.

Infinitives are very common, the ordinary uninflected form ending in बी. Instances are करिबी and also कीबी to do, रहिबी to remain, पैरिबी to swim, चितैबी to look, लज्येबी to be ashamed, चमकिबी to shine, धरिबी to place, सुखवैबी to smile, निकसिबी to come out, स्पर्शिबी to touch, चुमिबी to kiss, रोइबी to cry, तरिबी to cross, पारबी (the only instance of the short i being omitted) to cross, तीरिबी to break,

आइबो to come, सूचिबो to indicate, होमिबो to sacrifice, विहसिबो to smile. The following occur only in the inflected form, generally followed by कहुं (of), *viz.*, त्यागिबे to abandon, सुनाइबे to cause to hear, मारिबे to beat, बिदारिबे to tear, थूँकिबे to spit, लीबे to take, कराइबे to cause to do, साधिबे to accomplish, व्यापिबे to penetrate. The form भोगईबे to enjoy is peculiar in having a long i before the termination. The only instances of the infinitive in न (the modern High Hindi ना) are लगन to attach, कहन to say, करन to do and कांपन to tremble, *e.g.*, कांपन लगति है she begins to tremble.

Conjunctive participles are very common and consist either of the root of the verb without any addition or of the root with कै or करि added. The following occur from roots, which have not already been given in dealing with the tenses of the verbs, *viz.*, उघारि having opened, बौराइकै having become mad, बढिकै having agreed, दौरिकै having run, ऐंचिकै having drawn, क्षमाइकै having caused to forgive, आक्रमि having begun, उसासिकै having sighed, गुह्णि having plaited, उसरि having come out, ज्याई having caused to live, छूइकै having touched.

The agent ends in हार (masculine) and हारि (feminine) added to the infinitive form ending in न. The following instances occur, *viz.*, करनहार and करनहारि (also written करणहारि) maker, जीतनहार winner, हंसनहार laughter, उपजावनहार grower, स्पर्शनहार toucher, पाउनहार obtainer, जाननहार knower, उद्दीपनहार brightener, चलाउनहार mover. A feminine plural form occurs once, *viz.*, करनहार्यै.

This completes the forms of the active verb. The passive verb occurs fairly often. The characteristic of the passive is the shortening of the long vowel of जातु, जाति and जात. We thus find देखिजति है and अवलीकिजति है both meaning

“she is seen,” देखिजत है “they are seen.” Other passive forms found are कर्यौ जाइ “may be done,” जैजतु है “is lived,” अनभैयतु है “is experienced,” तयौ जाइ “may be crossed,” त्याग जात आहि “is abandoned,” चाहिजै “may be wished,” कहिजै “may be said,” कीजै “may be done” (feminine), निंदिजहिं “may be blamed,” सेइजहिं “may be worshipped,” खवाइजहिं “may be caused to eat.”

Compound verbs are of fairly frequent occurrence. The inceptive occurs in the form कहन लगी “she began to say.” Desiderative forms are more common, instances being करन चाहति है “she desires to do,” बूझौ चाहत “they desire to sink.” The potential occurs in the forms है सकिहैं “will be possible,” करि सकैं “may be able to do.” Intensives are very common indeed. The following occur, viz., जारि डायौ “burnt down,” बढ़ि रह्यौ “constantly increased,” करि डारति है “completes,” काटि डारति है “cuts down,” गिरि परत “falls down,” लये आवतु है “brings along,” रहिबौ करत है “continues to stay,” लिखि राख्यौ है “has written down,” कहै देतु है “proclaims,” आइ रह्यौ “settles down,” निकासि दएस “turned out,” उसरि भागु “run away,” उठाइ राख्यौ “lifted up.”

A very peculiar idiom is occasionally produced by using the word संते (sometimes nasalised as संतै), derived from the present participle of the Sanskrit verb अस to be, along with a participle of a verb, in the sense of an absolute construction. We thus find आलिगत संते “on being embraced,” बीते संते “on elapsing,” भये संते “after having become,” बरसत संते “when it is raining,” होत संते “on this coming about.”

As to the syntax of the Hindi, this calls for no comment, beyond the observation that the syntactical construction of the sentences is as loose and capricious and illogical as the spelling of the words and the inflections. We find, for



instance, a feminine subject followed by गङ्गे and लगी in the same sentence, while verbs are frequently attracted into concord with the nearest noun, irrespective of the sense. The sentences are often clumsy and awkward and full of unnecessary repetitions.

This concludes my introductory notes, but further notes dealing with the text are appended to the actual Sanskrit-Hindi text.

### SANSKRIT-HINDI TEXT.

सिद्धि श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

सिंगार सतुकं लिष्यते ॥

श्लो० । चूडोत्तंसितचारुचन्द्रकलिका चंचच्छिखा भासुरो लीलादग्ध-  
विलोलकामशलभः श्रेयोदशाग्रेस्फुरन् ॥ अन्तः स्फूर्जदपारमोहतिमिर-  
प्राग्भारमुच्छेदयन् स्वान्ते सद्गानि योगिनां विजयते बोधप्रदीपो ह्ररः ॥ १ ॥

अर्थ । ह्ररः श्रीमहादेव । योगिनां । योगीश्वरानि के । स्वान्ते सद्गानि । हृदय रूप गृह मध्य । राजते । विराजत है । कैसे है महादेव । बोध प्रदीपः । बोधु जु है सबही वस्तु की ग्यानु ताके उपजाइवे कहुं दीप प्राय हैं । याकी यह अर्थ ॥ जैसे गृह मध्य दीपु रहतु है फुनि सबही वस्तुकी प्रकास करतु है तैसेही महादेव योगीश्वरानिके हृदयविषे रहत हैं अरु सबही वस्तुहि प्रकासतु हैं ॥ अब या श्लोक विषे सोई विशेषण महादेवकी अरु सोई विशेषण दीपकी है सु अटकरैं रहिवी अब तेई विशेषण कहिजत हैं ॥ कैसे हैं महादेव चुडा जु है मस्तकु ता विषे अवतंसित कहैंते अलंकार रूप कीनी जु चारु मनोहर हरचन्द्रमा की कला ताचन्द्रकला की चंचत् कहैंते अति सोहति जु है शिखा कहा अग्रभाग तिहि करि । भासुरः । अति विराजत हैं महादेव । दीपु फुनि कैसी है । चुडा जु है दीपके ऊपरकी भाग ताकहं अवतंसित कहा अलंकार समान जु अति चारु कलिका कहा दीपकी जोति ता जोतिकी चंचत् कहा अति सोहति जु है शिखा कहा अग्रभाग तिहंकरि । भासुरः । अति सोहतु है दीपु । बहुरि महादेव कैसे हैं । लीला कहैंते अनायासही दग्ध कहा जाति

डाखी है अति विलोखु कामदेव सलभु कहा कोरा जिहि औसै महादेउ हैं । दीपु फुनि कैसो है लीला कहेंतें अनायासही अति लील सलभनि जारतु है । सलभ कहावत है पतींगा बहुरि कैसे हैं महादेउ । अयोदशाग्रे स्फुरत । अयोदशा जु है पुन्यदशा ताके आगे स्फुरत है । जाकी पुन्य दसा होति है ताके हृदय विषे महादेउ स्फुरत हैं । दीपु पुनि कैसो होतु है । दशाग्रे स्फुरत । दशा जु है बाती ताके अग्र स्फुरतु है । दशा शब्द बाती विषे बर्ततु है अरु अवस्था विषे बर्ततु है । बहुरि महादेउ कैसे हैं । अन्तः कहा उपासकनिके हृदय विषे स्फुर्जत कहा बाढ़ रछी जु अपार मोहु अग्रानु सोई जु तिमिर अन्धकार ताहि । उच्छेदयन् दूरि करत हैं । दीपु फुनि गृह मध्यके तिमिरहि दूरि करतु है ।

श्लो० । शुभ्रं सद्य सुविभ्रमा युवतयः श्वेतातपओज्वला लक्ष्मोरित्यनु-  
भूयते स्थिरमिव स्फीते शुभे कर्मणि । छिन्नेस्मिन्नितरामनंगकलहक्रीडा-  
त्रुटतंतुकं मुक्ताजालमिव प्रयाति भटिति भ्रष्टद्विवी दिव्यतां ॥ २ ॥

अर्थ । शुभ्रं सद्य । अति सुन्दर गृह । अरु । सुविभ्रमा युवतयः । अनेक विलासनिको करनिहारि सुन्दरि युवती । अरु श्वेत श्वेत जु आतपत्र कहेंतें छत्र तिनिकरि अति उज्ज्वल घर भाग लक्ष्मी इतने ए सब । शुभे कर्मणि स्फीते सति । पुन्य जौलीं रहतु है तौलीं । स्थिर-  
मिव अनुभूयते । स्थिर से लगत हैं अरु इनकी सुषु अनभेयतु है । अस्मिन्  
छिन्ने सति । वहे पुन्य जब क्षीण कै जातु है तब भटिति । बेगिही  
वा लक्ष्मीको उध्वंस प्रध्वंसो । दिव्यतां प्रयाति । अति नौके लगत हैं ।  
कछू गयार नाहीं लगत । जैसे मुक्तानिकी हार जौलीं स्त्रीके कंठ रहतु है  
तौलीं नौकी लागतु वै है । अरु अनंग कलह केलि विषे जब हार की  
डोरा टूटि जातु है तब मुक्ता फैलि रहत हैं तबहुं अति सोहत हैं ॥

श्लो० । तावदेव विदुषां हृदि स्फुरत्येष निर्मलविवेकदीपकः । यावदेव  
न कुरंगचक्षुषां ताड्यते चपललोचनांचलैः ॥ ३ ॥

अर्थ । विदुषां । विवेकीनि के । हृदि । हृदय विषे । एष निर्मल  
विवेकदीपकः । भाई यह बात कर्तव्य है यह नाही कर्तव्य । या  
प्रकार को जु अति निर्मल विवेक दीपु । तावदेव । तौहीलीं । स्फुरति ।  
बरतु रहतु है । यावदेव । जौहीलीं । कुरंगचक्षुषां । मृगाक्षीनि के ।  
चपललोचनांचलैः । अति चंचल दृगंचलनि करि । न ताड्यते । वह  
विवेक दीपु नाहीं बुझावतु । याको यह अर्थ । जैसे घर भाग

दिया तोहीलों बरतु है जौलों गृहनी अपने अंचल करि नाही बुभावति ।  
 अैसेहीं बिबेकीनि को बिबेक दीपु तोहीलों बरतु है जौलों मृगाक्षीनिके  
 कटाक्ष बान नाहीं लगत ॥

श्लो० । धन्यास्त एव चपलायतलोचनानां तारुण्यदर्पघनपीनपयो-  
 धराणां । क्षामोदरोपरिलसत्तृवलीलतानां दृष्टाकृतिं विकृतिमेति मनो न  
 येषां ॥ ४ ॥

अर्थ । येषां मनः । जिनिकी मनु । एतादृष तरुणीनि की ।  
 आकृतिं दृष्टा । रूप देषि करि । विकृतिं न एति । विकारहि नाहीं  
 प्राप्त होतु । त एव धन्याः । तेई पुरुष धन्य हैं । कैसी तरुणी की  
 आकृति । चपल अरु आयत कहेंतें अवगण पर्यंत लौ दीर्घ हैं लोचन  
 जिनके । बहुरि कैसी तरुणी हैं । तारुण्य जु है जौवन ताको जु दर्प  
 कहेंतें गर्व तिहितें घन कहा अति कठोर अरु पीन कहेंतें मसौले हैं  
 पयोधर जिनके । बहुरि कैसी हैं तरुणी । क्षाम कहेंतें अतिही कृश हैं  
 उदर ता ऊपर लसत कहेंतें विराजति है तवली लता जिनकी । तवली  
 कहावति है जु स्त्रीनिके उदर मध्य जौगरीनि की तोनि रेखा होति हैं ।  
 सीई जु मानहु लता । सु कहावें तवली लता । सु तातें एतादृश  
 तरुणीनि की रूप देषत जिनकी मनु स्थिर रहतु है तेई धन्य है ॥

श्लो० । सदायोगाभ्यासव्यसनवशयोरात्ममनसोरविच्छिन्ना मैत्री  
 स्फुरति कृतिनस्तस्य किमिति । प्रियाणामालापैरधरमधुभिर्वक्त्रमधुभिः  
 सनिश्वासामोदैः सकुचकलशाश्लेषसुरतैः ॥ ५ ॥

अर्थ । यस्य कृतिनः । जा सुकृती तपस्वी के । सदा अष्टांग योगके  
 अभ्यासही विषै है विसनु जिनके अैसे आत्मा की अरु मनको । मैत्री  
 प्रीति । अविच्छिन्ना स्फुरति । निरंतर भई रहति है । तस्य अकेले ताही  
 तपस्वीकी । इति किं । ए कछू न करि सकै । कौन कौन ति कहि-  
 जति हैं । प्रियाणां आलापैः । प्राणप्रिया स्त्रीनिके मधुर बचन ।  
 अरु अधरमधुभिः । अधर संबंधी मधु । अरु मुप बायुकी आमोद । अरु  
 कुचकलशनिके आलिंगन पूर्वक सुरत । ए सब ताके कामके कछू नाहीं  
 जाकी मनु योग की अभ्यास करत आत्माके स्वरूप सौ लग्यो है ॥

श्लो० । वचसि भवति संगत्यागमुद्दिश्यवार्त्ता अतिमुखरमुखानां केवलं  
 पंडितानां । जघनमरुणरत्नग्रंथिकांचौकलापं कुवलयनयनानां की विहातुं  
 समर्थः ॥ ६ ॥

अर्थ । पंडितानां । पंडितनि के । संगत्यागमुद्दिश्यवार्त्ता । स्त्री संगति त्याग की बात । वचसि भवति । केवल वचनहीं विपै चलति है । याकी यह अर्थ । स्त्री की-संगति कबहूँ न कीजै यह बात जु पंडित कहत रहत हैं सु केवल वचनही करि तौ कहत हैं मनते नाहीं कहत । मेरे जान कुवलयदल समान हैं दोष लोचन जिनके औसी स्त्रीनिके औसे नितंब स्थलहि । की विहातुं । त्यागिबे कहुं । कः समर्थः । की सामर्थ्य है । कैसे नितंबहि । अरुण कहैते आरत वर्ण रत्ननि पोहे डोरा की दई है ग्रंथि जाकी औसी अति विराजमान है चंद्र घंटिका भूपनु जापर औसे नितंब स्थलहि त्यागिबे कहुं की समर्थ है । पंडित जु छाडिबे की बात कहत हैं सु झूठे हैं सुषही करि तौ कहत हैं मनते नाहीं कहत हैं । कैसे पंडित । श्रुति जु है परावो सुनिबो ताही कहुं मुपर कहैते राति दिन चलति रहति है रसना जिनकी । औरहि सुनाइबे कहुं पंडित वक्त हैं पै छाडिबे कहुं असमर्थ है ॥

श्लो० । मत्तेभक्तुम्भदलने भुवि के पि शूराः केचित्प्रचंडमृगराजवधेपि दक्षाः ॥ किंतु ब्रवीमि बलिनां पुरतः प्रसह्य कन्दर्पदर्पदलने विरला मनुष्याः ॥ ७ ॥

अर्थ । भुवि । या भूमिलोक विपै । केपि । कितेकौ । मत्ता मत्त हाथीनिके कुंभस्थलनि संग्राम मध्य बिदारिबे कहुं शूर है । अरु । केचित् । कितेकौ फूनि । प्रचंड जु है मृगराजु सिंहु । ताके बध कह । दक्षाः । निपुन सूर हैं । पै एक बात है जु । बलिनां पुरतः । सब बलीनि के आगे । ब्रवीमि । पुकारतु हों जु । कंदर्पदर्पदलने । कंदर्प की जु दर्प कहा काम सांति कीबो । औसे । विरलाः । बिरले शूर हैं बहुत नाहीं ॥

श्लो० । क्षितेन भावेन च लज्जया धिया पराडमुखैरर्जकटाक्ष-वौक्ष्णैः । वार्त्ताभिरीर्ष्या कलहैश्च लोलया समस्तभावैः खलु बंधनं स्त्रियः ॥ ८ ॥

अर्थ । स्त्रियः । दलु सोई इंदु भयो ताहि लैकरि । अपनै मस्तक पर धरति भई । अरु विशलता जु मृणाल लता ताके व्याजमिस करिके उपवीतु जु है जग्योपवीतु ताहि धरति भई औसी पार्वती तुमहारी रक्षा करी । स्त्रियः । ए स्त्री । क्षितेन । मंद मुसक्याइकी । भावेन । कछू भाउकरि । च लज्जया । कछू लज्जा करिके । धिया पराडमुखैः ।

कछू बुधि पोठि दे बैठिबो । अरु । अर्द्धकटाक्षवीक्षणः । आधे  
अधे कटाक्षनि चितेबो । अरु । वाचोभि इष्टा । ईर्ष्या पूर्वक  
ठिठार्दे के बचन । कलहैश्व । कछू भूटेहो कलहु कीबो । लीलया ।  
कबहुं कु आनंद पूर्वक बिलास कीबो । इतने सब सुभाउनि करि ।  
खलु बंधन । स्त्री इतने अंग बिलासनि करि दुष्ट आत्मा हैं । जाते  
पुरुषनि के मन को ब्रत भंगु करति है ॥

श्लो० । एताश्चलह्वलयसंहतमेखलोक्तभङ्कारनूपुररवागतराजहंसः ॥  
कुर्वन्ति कस्य न मनो विवशं तरुण्यो विवस्त्वमुग्धहरिणीसदृशाक्षिपातैः ॥ ६ ॥

अर्थ । एतास्तरुण्यः । ए तरुणी । विवस्त्व कहा चौकी अरु मुग्ध  
कहा बालक औसी जु हरिणी ता कैसे अक्षिपातैः । चितेबे करि ।  
कस्य नो मनः । कौन के मनहि । विवशं न कुर्वन्ति । बिबस न करिडारै ।  
किंतु सबहो के मनहि बिबस करती हैं । कैसे है तरुणी । चलता मधुर  
धुनि करतु जु है । वलयः । कहा कंकननि सों । संहत । कहा  
मिल्यो है मेखला को कहा क्षुद्र घंटिका को भङ्कार । अरु नूपुररवा ।  
नूपुरनिकी शब्द ताहि सुनि । आगतराजहंस्यः । आर्दे है राजहंसी  
जिनके समीप औसी तरुणी है ॥

श्लो० । सत्यं जना वच्मि न पक्षपाताल्लोकेषु सप्रस्वपि तथ्यमेव ॥  
नान्यन्मनोहारि नितंबिनोभ्यो दुःखैकहेतुर्न च किञ्चिदन्यत् ॥ १० ॥

अर्थ । हे जना । अरे मनुष्य हो । सत्य वच्मि । यह बचनु हों सत्य  
कहतु हों । न पक्षपातात् कछू पक्ष करे नाहीं कहतु ।  
सप्रस्वपि लोकेषु । सातह लोक मध्य । तथ्यमेव । सांचे हूं सांचे ।  
नितंबिनोभ्यः । नितंबिनी स्त्रीनिके । अन्यत् किञ्चित् । और कछू  
दूसरी वस्तु । मनोहारि नास्ति । मनोहर नाहीं पुरुष कहं स्त्रीनितें  
और सुषदाता नाहीं । अरु । न च । न फुनि स्त्रीनि तैं । दुःखैकहेतु ।  
दुषको हेतु आहि । स्त्री जु सुषदाकही सु यह संजोग दशा में जानिबो ।  
अरु दुषदा जु कहो सु विवोग दशा विषे जानिबो ॥

श्लो० । लीलावतीनां सहजा बिलासास्त एव मूढस्य हृदि स्फुरन्ति ॥  
रागो नलिन्या हि निसर्गसिद्धस्तत्र भ्रमत्येव वृथा षडङ्गिः ॥ ११ ॥

अर्थ । लीलावतीनां । लीला की करणहारि स्त्रीनिके ।  
विलासाः । सहजा एव । सकल बिलास सुभाव ही सिद्धे हैं । कछू यह  
नाहीं कि स्त्री काहू देषि बिलास करति होहिं । किंतु स्त्रीनिकी बिलास

कीबी सहजु वै है। परंतु। त एव। धई स्त्रीनिके बिलास। मुठस्य हृदि। मुठके हृदय मध्य। स्फुरंति। उठिबी करत हैं। मूठ यह जानतु है कि ए बिलास मोहो देसि करे हैं। यह जानिके मूठ उनिहीं बिलासनि अपने हृदय विषे सुधि करिबी करत है। जैसें नलिन्याः। कमलिनी के। रागः। आरक्तता। निसर्गसिद्धः। सहजहीं सिद्ध है यह नाहीं कि भ्रमरहि देसि कमलिनी के अनुरागु होतु होइ। परंतु। भ्रमरु जु मूठु के जातु है सु तत्र। वा कमलिनी ऊपर। वृथा हीं। भ्रमत्येव। भ्रमतु है। घडंहि कहावै भ्रमरु ॥

श्लो०। सिद्धाध्यासितकंदरे हरवृषस्कंधावधृष्टदुमे गंगाधौतशिलातले हिमवतः स्थाने स्थितः श्रेयसि ॥ कःकुर्वीत नरः प्रणाममलिनं चेतो मनस्वी जनो यद्युत्तस्तकुरंगशावनयना न स्युः सारास्त्रं स्त्रियः ॥ १२ ॥

अर्थ। श्रेयसि। परम कल्याणकारी। हिमवतः स्थाने। हिमाचल पर्वतके एकान्तस्थल विषे। स्थितः। बैठिकरि। को नरः। औसी को मनुष्य है जु। चेतः। अपने चित्तहि। प्रणाममलिनं। ईश्वरको प्रणाम करिबे कहूं मलिन कुर्वीत। करै। याको यह अर्थ। हिमाचल पर्वतके औसी एकान्त स्थल विषे बैठिके औसी को मनुष्य है जु ईश्वर कहं प्रणाम करत नैकहं मनहि मलिनु करिहै। पै एक है। यदि जी। सारास्त्रं स्त्रियः। कामके आयुधप्राय स्त्री नहीती। स्त्री कैसी हैं। उक्तस्त कहैंते चकित जु है कुरंग को शावकु ता कैसे हैं नयन जिनके औसी स्त्री जी कामको आयुधु न होती ती हिमाचल पर्वत के औसी एकान्त स्थल विषे बैठिके ईश्वर को प्रणाम कीबे कहूं की मनुष्य अपने मनहि लगाउती। कैसे हिमाचल के पर्वत विषे बैठिके। सिद्धाध्यासितकंदरे। जाको कंदरानि विषे अनेक सिद्ध पुरुष बैठे हैं। बहुरि कैसी है वह एकान्त स्थल। हरवृषस्कंधावधृष्टदुमे। जाके दुमनिके पेडनि मध्य महादेव के वृषभ के कांधे की घसनि परी हैं। बहुरि वह हिमवंतको एकान्त स्थल कैसी है। गंगाधौतशिलातले। गंगा की धारनि के जलकरि धौत कहैंते प्रक्षाली हैं उत्तम उत्तम शिला जा विषे। औसी हिमवंतके एकांत स्थलहि कीउ न त्यागती जी स्त्री न होती ॥

श्लो०। यदि वनहरिणीभ्यो वंशकांडच्छ्वीनां कवलमुपलकीटिच्छिन्न-मूलं कुशानां ॥ युक्कयुवतिकपोलापांडुताम्बूलवल्लीदलमरुणनखाग्रैः पाटितं वा वधूम्यः ॥ १३ ॥

अर्थ । कै वैराग्यु कीजै कै संसारी हूजै । जो वैराग्यु कीजै तो  
 औसी कीजै जु । बनकी हरिणीनि कहु । कुशानां कवलं कृतं । कुशनि के  
 कौर अपने हाथ षवादजहिं । अरु जु संसारी हूजै तो ऐसी हूजै जु ।  
 वधूम्यः । स्त्रीनि कहं । ताम्बूलवल्लीदलं । नागबेलिके पान आपनै, हाथ  
 विरौ करि करि षवादजै । कुशनिके कौर कैसे हैं । उपलकीटिच्छिन्नमूलं ।  
 उपल कहावै पाषाणु ताकी जु कीटि कहेंतें अति तीक्ष्ण अग्रभागु तिहि-  
 करि छिन्न कहेंतें काटे हैं मूल जिनके औसे कुशनिके कौर बनकी  
 हरिणीनि अपने हाथ षवादजै । कुश कैसे हैं । वंशकांडच्छवीनां । हरित  
 बांस की कांडर समान हैं हरित छवि जिनकी औसे कुश हैं । स्त्रीनि पान  
 कौन प्रकार षवादजै । अरुणखाग्रेः पाटितं । अपने आरक्त नर्पान के अग्र  
 करि पाननिके अग्र घोंटि घोंटि षवावैं । नागबेलि के पान देषिजत कैसे हैं ।  
 शुकयुवतिकपोलापांडु । शुक जु है सुवा ताकी युवति कहा स्त्री ताके  
 कपोल समान पांडु वर्ण देषिजत हैं । औसी दुंदयां के कपोलनि विषे  
 कछूकु हरित ताहि लीनें पीतता होति है । ताते एतादृश वैराग्यु कीजै  
 किंवा जो संसारी हूजै तो औसे हूदजै जु यह कीजै । तीसरी गति  
 निरर्थक है ॥

श्री० । असाराः संत्येते विरतिविरसायासविषया जुगुप्स्यन्तां यदा  
 ननु सकलदोषास्पदमिति ॥ तथाप्येतद्ब्रूमो नहि परहितात्पुण्यमधिकं  
 न चास्मिन् संसारे कुवलयदृशो रमयमपरं ॥ १४ ॥

अर्थ । एते विषयाः । ए सब विषय । असाराः संति । यद्यपि सार-  
 भूत नाहीं । अरु विषयनि विषे न्यान यद्यपि विरति उपजति है । विरति  
 कहावै अनाशक्ति । अरु विषय यद्यपि न्यान विरस हैं विरस कहावै  
 नौरस । अरु आयास साध्य हैं यद्यपि विषय । इति । इहि बात तें ।  
 जुगुप्स्यन्ते । औरनि करि निदिजत हैं तो निदिजहिं । यदा । अथवा ।  
 सकलदोषास्पदं । विषय सकल दोषनि की धरु है । इति इहि बात तें ।  
 जुगुप्स्यन्तां । और जो निंदत हैं तो निंदहु । तथापि । तउ । वयं एतत्  
 ब्रूमः । हमतो एहै बातें कहत हैं जु । परहितात् । अधिक पुण्य नहिं ।  
 पराओ हितु कीबे तें कछू और अधिक पुण्य नाहीं । अरु नच । न फुनि ।  
 अस्मिन् संसारे । या संसार विषे । कुवलयदृशः । कुवलय जु हैं गदहूल के  
 फूल ताके समान है दृश कहेंतें नेत्र जिनके । औसी जु परम सुन्दरी  
 स्त्री तिहितें । अपरं रम्यं नास्ति । और कछू दूसरी सुन्दर नाहीं ॥

श्लो० । मात्सर्यमुत्सार्य विचार्य कार्यमार्याः समर्यादसिदं वदन्ति ॥  
सेव्या नितंबा किमु भूधराणामुत स्मरस्मेरविलासिनोनां ॥ १५ ॥

अर्थ । आर्याः । बिबेको पुरुष । मात्सर्यं उत्सार्य । अपनों मत्सर दूरिकरि । अरु कार्यं विचार्य । जितोक्त वस्तु कर्तव्य है ति सब विचारिकी । इदं वदन्ति । यह बात कहत हैं कि । किमु कीतो । भूधराणां । पर्वतनि के । नितंबाः सेव्याः । कंदरा सेदहिं । उत । किंवा । छर जु है कामु तत्संबंधी । स्मेर कहेंते प्रगट होतहैं अनेक बिलास जिनिके औसी तरुणीनि के नितंब सेदजहिं ॥

श्लो० । किमिहं बहुभिरुक्तैर्युक्तिशून्यैः प्रलापैर्दूयमिह पुरुषाणां  
सर्वदा सेवनीयं । अभिनवमदलीलालालसं सुंदरीणां स्तनभरपरिखिन्नं  
यौवनं वा वनं वा ॥ १६ ॥

अर्थ । युक्ति शून्यैः । जिनि विषै कछु युक्ति नाहों औसे बहुभिरुक्तैः प्रलापैः किं । बहुत निरर्थक बचन कहां लीं कहिजें । हमतौ एकै सार्थक बान कहन हैं जु । पुरुषाणां । पुरुषनि कहुं सर्वदा । इह । या संसार मध्य । इयं सेवनीयं इई बातें सेदवे हैं । सुंदरीणां यौवनं वा । कीतो परम सुंदर स्त्रीनि की औसी यौवन सेदजै । वनं वा । नातर बन सेदजहि । तहां सुंदरीनि की औसी यौवन सेदजै । अभिनव कहा यौवन को पैसारीहि भयो जु यौवन महु ताकी जु लीला कहा बिलास तिहि बिलास करि । लालसं । अतिही लसतु जु है यौवन सु सर्वदा सेदजै । बहुरि सुंदरीनि की औसी यौवन सेदजै । स्तनभरपरिखिन्नं । स्तनकलसनि के भार करि छेद जुक्त हैं जु स्त्रीनि की यौवन सु सर्वदा सेदजै ॥

श्लो० । मत्तेभकुंभपरिणाहिनि कुंकुमार्द्रं कांतापयोधरतटे रति-  
खेदखिन्नः । वक्षो निधाय भुजपंजरमध्यवर्ती धन्यः क्षपां क्षपयति क्षण-  
लब्धनिद्रः ॥ १७ ॥

अर्थ । कांतापयोधरतटे । स्त्रीनिके औसे पयोधर सेदजें ऊपर । जु पुरुष अपनों वक्षस्थलु लगाइकी । भुजपंजरमध्यवर्ती । स्त्रीके भुजपंजर मध्य रहिकी । क्षणलब्धनिद्रः । क्षण एकु निद्रा पाउतु है अरु इहि प्रकार । क्षपां क्षपयति । समस्त रात्रि गवावतु है । सु धन्यः । सु पुरुष धन्य है । कैसे पयोधरनि मध्य पुरुष अपनों वक्षस्थलु लगाइ रहै । मत्तेभकुंभपरिणाहिनि । मत्त हस्ती के कुंभ स्थल समान अति विशाल हैं पयोधर । बहुरि औसे पयोधर है । कुंकुमार्द्रं । केसरि घसि जु लगायी है । सु सिलसिले है ।



अैसे पयोधरनि ऊपर सुरत संग्राम करि अमितु पुरुष अपनों बक्षस्थलु  
लगाइकी स्त्री के भुज पंजर मध्य रहिकी जु निद्राहि पाइकी रात्रि गवाउतु  
है सु पुरुष धन्य है ॥

श्लो० । राज्ये तृष्णांबुराशेर्नहि जगति गतः कश्चिदेवावस्यनं को  
वाऽर्बोऽर्थैः प्रभूतैः स्वपुषि सुरते यौवने सानुरागे ॥ गच्छामः सद्य याव-  
द्विकसितनयनेंदौवरालोकितानामाक्रम्याक्रम्य रूपं भटिति न जरया लुप्यते  
प्रेयसीनां ॥ १८ ॥

अर्थ । जगति । या संसार विषे । राज्ये । राज्यहि पाइकी । तृष्णां-  
बुराशेः । तृष्णा समुद्र के । अवसानं । पारहि । कश्चित् । कोउ । नहि  
गतः । न गयी । याकी यह अर्थ । राज्य विषे काहू को तृष्णा शांत न  
भई । अरु । कः पुरुषः । कौनु पुरुष । प्रभूतैः अर्थैः । अनेक प्रकार की  
संपत्ति अछित् । स्वपुषि यौवने सति । अपने शरीर विषे यौवनहि अछित् ।  
सुरते सानुरागः । सुरत कीबे विषे सानुराग कै करि । सुरत तृष्णा समुद्र  
के पार गयी । किंतु कोउ न गयी । वयं तु । हम तौ । सद्य तावत्  
गच्छामः । घर मध्य तीही लौ रहत हैं । यावत् । जीलों । प्रेयसीनां रूपं  
प्राणावलभा स्त्रीनि की । रूपं । रूप । जरया । जरा करि । आक्रम्य  
आक्रम्य । आक्रमि आक्रमि । न लुप्यते । नाही लीपहि प्राप्त कीजतु ।  
जब तरुनीनि की रूपु जरा ग्रस्यौ तब बैराग्यु छांडि कछू और न कीजै ।  
कैसी हैं तरुणी । बिकसेई रहत जु हैं । उनके नयनेंदौवर तिनि करि  
अवलोकति हैं । इंदौवर कहावै नीलकमल ॥

श्लो० । उपरि घनं घनपटलं तिर्यगिरयो विनर्त्तितमयूराः ॥ क्षितिरपि  
कंदलधवला दृष्टिं पथिकः क्व पातयतु ॥ १९ ॥

अर्थ । उपरि । ऊपर आकास विषे । घनं घनपटलं । अति सघन  
मेघनि की समूह । अरु । तिर्यक । आस पास । विनर्त्तितमयूरा गिरयः ।  
पर्वतनि पर मयूर नाचत हैं । अरु । तरहरि । क्षितिरपि । भूमि फुनि ।  
कंदलधवला । सेत सेत छतनानि करि संयुक्त है सु धवल वर्ण है रही है ।  
ताते । पथिकः । पथिकुं दृष्टिं । अपनों दृष्टिहि । क्व पातयतु । कित  
पारै । जितही चितवै तितही वर्षा रितु की संपत्ति देषत सर्वांग विषे  
कामाग्नि प्रजरे । ऊपर चितवै तौ मेघ । तिरछी चितवै तौ पर्वतनि पर  
मयूर नाचत हैं । नीची चितवै तौ भूमि पर सेत सेत छतना उटि  
रहि हैं ॥ ॥

श्लो० । संसारेस्मिन्नसारे परिणतितरले हे गतौ पंडितानां तल-  
चानामृतांभः प्लवखुलितधियां यातु कालः कदाचित् ॥ नो चेन्मृगधांगनानां  
स्तनजघनघनाभोगसंशोभिनीनां स्थूलोपस्थस्थलीषु स्थगितकरतलस्पर्शलो-  
लीयमानां ॥ २० ॥

अर्थ । परिणतितरले । अवसान विषे जु क्षणभंगुर है । याही ते  
असारे । असारभूत जु है । ऐसे । अस्मिन् संसार विषे । पंडितानां ।  
बिबेकनि कह्युं । हे गतौ । हेई बातें कर्तव्य हैं । ति दोउ बातें कहिजति  
हैं । कैतौ । तलचानु अमृत जलु ता विषे जू प्लव कहेंतें पैरिबी तिहि करि  
खुलित कहेंतें भोजि हैं धौ बुद्धि जिनकी ऐसे महाविरक्त कैकरि  
इहि प्रकार कदाचित् कालु जाइ । नो चेत । नातरु । स्तन अरु  
जघननि की जु घन कहेंतें बहुत । आभोगु कहा विशालता  
तिहिकरि अति सोहति जु हैं तरुनी तिनकी स्थूल उपस्थल पर  
करतलु राषि करि तब वा योनि के स्पर्शते सुरतु करिबे कह्युं अति  
लोल भए हैं उद्यम जिनके ऐसे जु वै सारग्राही पुरुष तिनि की किंवा  
इहि प्रकार कालु जाइ । अथवा यह अर्थ जानिबी । विशाल स्तन जघननि  
करि सोहति जु हैं स्त्री तिन की करतलु जब पुरुष के गुच्छेद्रिय पर परै तब  
वा करतलके स्पर्श ते सुरतु कीबे कह्युं चंचलु मनु जिनि पुरुषनि की  
होतु है तिनि कीसी नाईं जो कालु जाइ । इनि दुहु अर्थनि विषे जु यह  
भडिमा बरणी है सु यह कबिही की दोष जानिबी टीका के कर्त्ता की  
न जानिबी । टीका की कर्त्ता तो जैसी कबि कवित्व कोन्हों तैसी बषान्यों ॥

श्लो० । कांतित्युत्पललोचनेति विपुलश्रोणीभरेत्युन्नमत्पीनोत्तुंगपयो-  
धरेति सुसुखांभोजेति चम्भूरिति । दृष्ट्वा माद्यति मोदतेभिरमते प्रस्तौति  
विद्वानपि प्रत्यक्षाशुचिपुत्तिकां स्त्रियमहो मोहस्य दुस्तेष्टितं ॥ २१ ॥

अर्थ । मोहस्य । अज्ञान की । दुस्तेष्टितं । गयार कर्तव्यता । अहो ।  
भारी आचय है । जु स्त्री प्रत्यक्षही मांस की अति ही असुचि पुतरिया है  
ता स्त्रीहि । दृष्ट्वा । देखतही । विद्वानपि ग्यानवंतु पुरुष । इतनी बातें  
आरोपिकी तब । माद्यति मत्तु होतु है । अरु । मोदते । परम सुषु पावतु  
है । अभिरमते । अति असक्तु होतु है । अरु । प्रस्तौति । स्त्रीकी स्तुति  
करतु है । तहां कीन कीन बातें आरोपतु है ति सब कहिजतो हैं । कांता  
इति । भाई यह परम सुन्दर स्त्री है । अरु उत्पललोचना इति । या  
स्त्री के लोचन उत्पल प्राय है । अरु इति । इयं विपुलश्रोणीभरा इति ।

या स्त्री के पयोधर अति उन्नत हैं अतिपीन हैं । अरु इयं सुमुखांभोजिति ।  
या स्त्री को मुषु कमलु अति सुंदर है । अरु इयं सुभ्रूः । याकी भी हैं अति  
सुंदर हैं इतनी बातें आरोपतु है ॥

श्लो० । क्वचित्सुभ्रूभंगैः क्वचिदपि च लज्जापरिगतैः क्वचिद्भीतिवस्तैः  
क्वचिदपि च लीलाविलसितैः ॥ कुमारीणां मेतैर्वदनकमलैर्नेत्रवलितैः स्फुर-  
लीलाब्जानां प्रकरपरिपूर्णा इव दृशः ॥ २२ ॥

अर्थ । कुमारीणां दृशः । सुग्धानि के नेत्र एतैः वदनकमलैः । एतादृश  
वदन कमलनि करि । अरु नेत्रवलितैः । नेत्रनिके चलिबे करि । दिशः ।  
सकल दिशां । स्फुरलीलाब्जानां । दैदीप्य लीलाकारी कमलनि के । प्रकर-  
परिपूर्णा इव । समूह करि परिपूर्ण हैं मानहुं । याकी यह अर्थ । सुग्धा  
ऐसे वदन कमलनि करि अरु कमल नेत्रनि करि जिहि जिहि दिशातन  
चितवति है तेई तेई दिशा लीला कमलनि के समूहनि करि भरी हैं  
मानहुं । लीला कमलु वह कहावतु है जा कमलहि स्त्री अपने हाथ  
गहि फिराद बिलासु करति है । सु जितो उतादल सौं सुग्धानि के वदन  
कमल अरु नेत्र कमल चलत है अरु उलटत हैं सु सुग्धानिके वदन कमल  
नेत्र कमल कैसे हैं । क्वचित् सुभ्रूभंगैः । कबहुं काहू दिशातन भ्रूभंग  
सहित चलत हैं । अरु क्वचिदपि च । काहू दिशातन । कछू देषतहीं । भीति-  
वस्तैः । भयभीत हैकरि चकित भए । अरु क्वचिदपि च । काहू का  
दिशातन निर्भय हैकरि । लीलाविलसितैः । अनेक लीला विलास करत  
हैं । ऐसे वदन कमल अरु नेत्र कमलनि करी जाही जाही दिशातन  
चलत उलटत हैं । ताही ताही दिशातन चलत उलटत हैं । ताही ताही  
दिशातन यह जानिजति है कि मानहुं लीला कमल फिरत हैं ॥

श्लो० । वक्त्रं चंद्रविहासि पंकजपरीहासक्षमे लोचने वर्णं स्वर्णमपा-  
करिष्णु नलिनीजिष्णुः कचानां चयः । वक्षोजाविभकुंभविभ्रमहरी शुर्वो  
नितंबस्थली वाचां हारि च माईवं युवतिषु स्वाभाविकं मंडनं ॥ २३ ॥

अर्थ । युवतिषु । तरुणीनि विषे । इतनी बातें । स्वाभाविकं  
मंडनं । सुभाव ही तें अलंकार रूप हैं । कौन कौन बातें ति कहिजंती  
हैं । प्रथमही तो । चंद्रविहासि वक्त्रं । अलंकार रूप हैं । चंद्रमा की हंसन-  
हार मुषु । अरु दूसरे पंकजपरीहासक्षमे लोचने । पंकज हूं की कूटि  
करनहार लोचन । अरु तीसरे । स्वर्णमपाकरिष्णु सुवर्ण हूं की अनादर  
करनहार गौर वर्ण । अरु चौथे । नलिनीजिष्णुः । कमलिनो की

श्यामता की जीतनहार । कचानां चयः । केशनि की समूह । अरु पांचयें ।  
इभकुंभविभ्रमहरी वक्षोजी । मत्त हस्तीके कुभनि के बिलासके हरणहार  
स्तन । अरु छठें । गुर्वी नितम्बस्थली । अति स्थूल नितम्बस्थलु । अरु  
सातयें । वाचां हारि माह्वं । परम मनोहर बानी बातें स्त्रीनि कहुं  
स्वाभाविक अलंकार रूप है ॥

श्लो० । नामृतं न विषं किञ्चिदेकां मुक्ता नितम्बिनीं ॥ सैवामृतलता  
रक्ता विरक्ता विषवल्लरी ॥ २४ ॥

अर्थ । एकां नितम्बिनीं मुक्ता । एक नितम्बिनी स्त्रीहि छांटिकी ।  
अन्यत् किञ्चित् और कछू दूसरी वस्तु न अमृतं न विषं । न अमृत आहि  
न विष आहि । अकेली स्त्री विष रूप है अरु अमृत रूप है । तहां कैसी  
स्त्री अमृत रूप है अरु कैसी स्त्री विष रूप है । रक्ता चेत् । भर्ता सों जी  
स्त्री अनुरक्त रहे । सैवा अमृतलता । सोई स्त्री अमृत की लता हैं । अरु ।  
विरक्ता चेत् । भर्ता सों जी विरक्त है सो विष बल्लरी । सोई स्त्री विष  
की बेलि आहि ॥

श्लो० । भूचातुर्थ्याकुञ्चिताक्षाः कटाक्षाः स्निग्धा वाची लज्जितां-  
ताश्च हासाः । लीलामंदं प्रस्थितं च स्थितं च स्त्रीणामेतद्भूषणं  
चायुधं च ॥ २५ ॥

अर्थ । स्त्रीणां । स्त्रीनि कहुं एतत् । इतनी बातें । भूषणं च ।  
भूषण रूपी हैं । अरु । आयुधं च । औरनि के मारिबे कहुं आयुध रूप हैं ।  
कोन कोन बातें ते कहिजति हैं । प्रथमही तौ । भूचातुरी । दूसरें ।  
आकुञ्चिताक्षाः कटाक्षाः । आकुञ्चित नेत्रनिके कटाक्ष । आकुञ्चित नेत्र कह्यो  
सकुच सहित नेत्र । अरु तीसरें । स्निग्धा वाचः । परम मधुर बानी । अरु  
चौथें । लज्जितांताश्चहासाः । हंसिकी लज्येबी । अरु पांचयें । लीलामंदं  
प्रस्थितं च । बिलास पूर्वक मन्द मन्द चलिबौ । अरु स्थितं च । ठाढ़े है  
रहिबौ । इतनी बातें स्त्रीनि कहुं अलंकार रूप हैं । अरु । औरनि के  
मारिबे कहुं एई आयुध हैं ।

श्लो० । क्षितं किञ्चिद्वक्त्रं सरलतरला दृष्टिविशिखाः परिस्पंदो  
वाचामभिनवविलासोक्तिसरसः ॥ गतीनामारंभः किसलयितलीलापरिकरः  
स्पृशंत्यास्तारुण्यं किमिव नहि रम्यं मृगदृशः ॥ २६ ॥

अर्थ । तारुण्यं स्पृशंत्या मृगदृशः । जब मुग्धता जाति है  
अरु कछूकु यौवन आनि प्रविष्ट होतु है तब मृगाक्षी की । किमिव

नहि रम्यं । इतनी बातनि मध्य कौन कौन बात रम्य नाहीं । किंतु सबई बातें रम्य हैं । ति सब कहीजती हैं । किंचित् स्मितं वक्त्रं । कच्छुक्तु मुसक्यानि सहित मुषु । मुसकौबी यौवनही के आगम होतु है । अरु सरलतरला दृष्टिविशिखाः । सरल अरु तरल कटाक्ष बान । दृष्टि विषे तरलता अरु कटाक्ष पूर्वक अवलीकनु यौवनही के आगम होतु है । अरु वाचां परिस्पंदः । सुषमध्यते वचननि की निकसिबी । फुनि । अभिनवविलासोक्तिसरसः । नए नए बिलासहिं लए उक्तिनि की सरसाई सहित । अरु गतीनामारंभः । चरननि की धरिबी फुनि । किसलयित-लीलापरिकरः । किसलयनि के परिकर आहिं मानहुं सु इतनी बातनि मध्य वयः संधि विषे तरुणीनि की कौन कौन नाहीं नीकी लगति ॥

श्लो० । स्मृता भवति तापाय दृष्टा चीन्मादवर्द्धिनी । स्पृष्टा भवति मोहाय सा नाम दयिता कथं ॥ २७ ॥

अर्थ । स्मृता स्त्री तापाय भवति । स्त्री की जब सुमिरनु कीजतु है तब स्मरनु करतही काम संबंधी संताप उपजावतु है । अरु दृष्टा च । जब नेत्रनि देखिजति है तब । उन्मादवर्द्धिनी । दिवैयाके उन्मादहि बढावति है । अरु । स्पृष्टा सती मोहाय भवति । स्त्री की स्पर्शु जब कीजतु है तब स्त्री मूढ करि डारति है । ताते यह बडौ आश्चर्य है जु । सा नाम दयिता कथं । स्त्री की नामु दयिता काहेते भयो । दयिता कहावति है प्रिय वस्तु । सु जाकी सुधि करतही परिताप होइ । अरु जाहि देषत हो उन्मत्त होइ । अरु जाहि छुवतही मूढ होइ सु कबते प्रिय लगति है सु यह बडौ आश्चर्य है जु इतेह पर स्त्री सौ दयिता कहत हैं ॥

श्लो० । आवर्त्तः संशयानामविनयभवनं पत्तनं साहसानां दोषाणां सन्निधानं कपटशतमयं चोन्नमप्रत्ययानां ॥ स्वर्गहारस्य विघ्नं नरकपुर-मुखं सर्वमायाकरं स्त्रीयं केन सृष्टं विषममृतमयं प्राणिलोकस्य पाशः ॥ २८ ॥

अर्थ । यह स्त्रीरूप यंत्र । प्राणिलोकस्य पाशः । सकल प्राणीनि कहूं पांखि । केन सृष्टं । कौनहि कर्यो है । है कैसी स्त्री । आवर्त्तः संशयानां । सकल संदेहनि की आवर्त्तु है । आवर्त्तु कहावै जल की भीरु । जैसे जलके आवर्त्त मांझ अनेक जल आनि परत हैं अरु आवर्त्त सौ फिरत रहत है । तैसीही स्त्री के मन मध्य संदेहनि की आवर्त्त उठिबी करतु है । स्त्री के निश्चय काहु बात की नाहीं । बहुरि कैसी हैं स्त्री । अविनय

भवनं । ठिठार्ई कौ घर है । बहुरि स्त्री कैसी है । पत्तनं साहसानां ।  
सकल साहसनि कौ नगर है । पत्तनु नगर कौ नाउं है । सु स्त्री सकल  
साहसनि कौ नगर है । बहुरि स्त्री कैसी है । दोषानां सन्निधानं ।  
सकल दोषनिकौ आपूटि भांडार है । बहुरि कैसी है स्त्री कपटशतमयंचेष्टं ।  
अनेक कपटनि कौ उपजावनहारु प्रेतु है मानहुं । बहुरि कैसी हैं स्त्री ।  
अप्रत्ययाना चेष्टं । सबही बातनि कौ अप्रीति कौ प्रेतु है । बहुरि सुनहुं ।  
स्वर्गद्वारस्य विघ्नः । स्वर्ग लोक द्वारकौ अंतराज हैं । बहुरि स्त्री कैसी हैं ।  
नरकपुरमुषं । नरक नगर कौ मुषु है । बहुरि स्त्री कैसी हैं । सर्वमाया-  
करंडं । सकल मायानि कौ टिपारी है । करंड कहावै टिपरिया । बहुरि  
स्त्री कैसी हैं । अमृतमयविषं । अमृतमय बिषु है ॥

श्लो० । नोसत्येन मृगांक एष वदनीभूतो न चेदीवरद्वंदं लोचनतां  
गतं न कनकैरप्यंगयष्टिःकृता ॥ कित्तेवं कविभिः प्रतारितमनास्तत्त्वं  
विजानन्नपि त्वग्मांसास्थिमयं वपुर्मृगदृशामन्धो जनः सेवते ॥ २६ ॥

अर्थ । सत्येन । जो साचेहूँ सांचे बिचारि देखिजे तौ । एष  
मृगांकः । यह चंद्रमा । न वदनीभूतः । स्त्री कौ बदन नाहीं भयौ ।  
अरु । इंदीवरद्वंदं । है नील कमल । लोचनतां न गतं । स्त्रीके  
नेत्र नाहीं भए । अरु । कनकैः । कनक करि । अंगयष्टिर्नकृता ।  
स्त्रीके अंग नाहीं करे । तत्त्वं विजानन्नपि । या तत्वहि लोगु यद्यपि  
जानतु है तथापि । कविभिः प्रतारितमनाः । कवीश्वरनि या लोक कौ  
मनु इहि भांति नहकायो है जु । अंधो जनः । अंधु लोगु । त्वचा मांस  
अस्थि एतन्मय मृगाक्षीनिके वपुहि सेवत हैं ॥

श्लो० । सम्मार्गे तावदास्ते प्रभवति पुरुषस्तावदेवेन्द्रियाणां लज्जां  
तावद्विधत्ते विनयमपि समालंबते तावदेव ॥ भूचापाकृष्टमुक्ताः श्रवण-  
पद्मजुषो नीलपद्माण एते यावल्लीलावतीनां न हृदि धृतमुखा दृष्टिबाणाः  
पतन्ति ॥ ३० ॥

अर्थ । सम्मार्गे । सम्मार्ग विषे । तावदेवास्ते । पुरुष तौहीलों चलतु  
है । अरु पुरुषः । पुरुष । इन्द्रियाणां । इन्द्रियनिकौ । तावदेव प्रभवति ।  
तौहीलों प्रभु हीतु है । आको यह अर्थ । इन्द्रिय हाथ तौहीलों हैं । अरु  
लज्जां तावदेव विधत्ते । लाजहि पुरुष तौहीलों धरतु है । अरु । विनयमपि  
तावदेव समालंबते । विनयहि पुरुष तौहीलों करतु है । यावत् । जौली ।  
लीलावतीनां । विलासिनी स्त्रीनिके दृष्टिबाणाः । कटाक्षबाण । न पतन्ति ।

पुरुष पर नाहीं परत । कैसे हैं कटाक्षबाण । भू जु हैं भी हैं सोई जु भयो  
चाप धनुष ताहि आकृष्टि अंचिकी । मुक्ताः । कहा भेले जु हैं ।  
बहुरि कैसे कटाक्षबाण हैं । अवणपथजुषः । बिलासिनीनि के अवणनि  
के समीप है चलत हैं । बहुरि कैसे कटाक्षबाण हैं । लीला वर्ण हैं  
पद्म कहेंतें पाषें जिनकी । नेत्रनि की बरुणी जु हैं तेई कटाक्ष  
बाणानि की पाषें हैं । बहुरि कैसे हैं कटाक्षबाण । हृदि धृतमुखाः ।  
पुरुष के हृदय मांभ जाद चुभत हैं अग्र जिनके अैसे बिलासिनीनि के  
कटाक्षबाण हैं । सु पुरुष पर जौलों नाहीं परत तौलों है । विनय  
तौहोलों कीजतु है । पै जबहीं बिलासिनीनिके कटाक्षबाण पुरुष पर  
परत तब कैसी सन्मार्ग कहावतु है अरु कैसी इंद्रियनि की हाथ कीबी  
कहाउतु है । कैसी विनय कीबी कहाउतु है । जब स्त्री के बस्य है  
जातु है तब एक नाहीं सधति ॥

श्लो० । यदेतत्पुण्ड्रदुद्युतिहरमुदाराकृतिधरं मुखाब्जं तन्वंग्याः  
किल वसति यन्नाधरमुधा ॥ इदं तत्किं पाकद्रुमफलमिदानीमतिरसं  
व्यतीतेस्मिन् काले विषमिव भविष्यत्यसुखदं ॥ ३१ ॥

अर्थ । कवि यह कहत हैं कि तरुणी को मुषु चंद्रमा है । सु  
सांचेहूं । यत् एतत् तन्वंग्या मुखाब्जं । यह जु कृशांगी को मुषु  
कमलु है सु पूर्ण इंद्रुकी दीप्तिहि हरतु है सु यह सांची है । जातें  
उदार कहा परम सुंदर देखिजतु है । बहुरि कैसी है मुषु । यन् ।  
जा मुष मध्य अधर मुधा वसति है । तातें सांचेहूं कृशांगी को मुषुचंद्रमा  
है । पै एकधौं कहहु । जु इदं तत् किं । यह कहावै जु । पाकद्रुम-  
फलं । द्रुमके पक फल की सो नाहीं । इदानीं । अतिरसं । अबहिं  
अति रसवंतु है । बहुरि । अस्मिन् काले व्यतीते । यह कालु बीतें संतें ।  
विषमिव । विष समान् । अरु असुखदं । अति दुषद भविष्यति है है ॥

श्लो० । संसारेऽस्मिन्नसारे कुनृपतिभवनद्वारसेवाकलंकव्यासंगध्वस्तधैर्याः  
कथममलधियो मानसं सन्निदध्युः ॥ यद्येताः प्रोद्यद्दिंदुद्युतिनिचयभृतो  
न स्युरंभोजनेत्राः प्रेक्षत्कांचीकलापाः स्तनभरविनमन्मध्यभागस्त-  
रुण्यः ॥ ३२ ॥

अर्थ । अस्मिन् संसारे । असारे । असारभूत । या संसार विषें । अमल-  
धियः । निर्मल बुद्धिवंतु पुरुष । मानसं । अपने मनहिं । कथंकथमपि ।  
कैसेहूं कैसेकरि । निदध्युः । रोकते । यदि । जौ एतास्तरुण्यः । ए तरुणी ।

नख्युः । न हौहि । तरुणी कैसी हैं । प्रोद्यदिंदुद्युतिनिचयभतः । प्रोद्यत् कहेंते उदहि प्राप्त होतु जु इंदु चंद्रमा ताकी दुति दीप्ति की जु निचय कहा समूहु ताहि अपने मुख विषे जु धरति हैं । बहुरि तरुणी कैसी हैं । अंभोज मेघाः । अंभोज जु हैं । कमल तिन समान हैं नेत्र जिनके औसी हैं । बहुरि तरुणी कैसी हैं । प्रेखत्कांचीकलापाः । प्रेखत् कहेंते अति शोभा सहित चलतु है कांची कलापु कहेंते छुद्र घंटिका रूप अलंकार जिनकी औसी तरुणी हैं । बहुरि तरुणी कैसी हैं । स्तनभरविनमम्मध्यभागाः । स्तननिके भार करि विनमत् कहा नम्र होत हैं मध्यभाग कहा कटि प्रदेश जिनके औसी तरुणी हैं जो न हौहों तौ निर्मल बुद्धिमंत पुरुष अपने मनहि कैसीहूं कैसी रोकहिं । इनि तरुणीनि कै बस्य मनु कैसी होतु है सु कहि-जतु है । कुनृपति जु है निंद्यराजा तिनके भवनके द्वार ठाढ़े ठाढ़े जु सेवा कीजति है सोई सेवा है कलंकु जाकहुं औसी हैजातु है मनु । बहुरि कैसी हैजातु है मनु । व्यासंगध्वस्तधैर्यं । औसी तरुणीनि कै बस्य भयेते जु व्यासंगु होतु है सु तिहिते ध्वस्त कहेंते नाशहि प्राप्त भयी है धैर्य जाकी औसी है जातु है मनु ताते मनु रुकी कैसैकी ॥

श्लो० । परिमलभृतो वाताः शाखा नवांकुरकोटयो मधुरवधृतोत्कंठा वाचः प्रियाः पिकपक्षिणां ॥ विरलविरलस्वेदोद्गारा वधूवदनेंदवः प्रसरति मधौ रम्यो जातो न कस्य गुणोदयः ॥ ३३ ॥

अर्थ । प्रसरति मधौ । बसंत रितुहि आयें । कस्य । कौनहुं । रम्यो गुणोदयो न जातः । उत्तम उत्तम गुण की उदौ कौन के न भयी । किंतु सबही के भले भले गुण भये । तहां कौन के कौनु गुण भयी सु कहिजतु है । वाताः बसंत रितु विषे जि वायु चलत हैं ति । परिमलभृतः अति सुगंध ताहि लियें चलते हैं । ताते बसंत रितु विषे वायु कहां सुगंधता गुनु भयी । अरु । बसंत रितु विषे । शाखाः । वृक्षनिकी शाखा फुनि । नवांकुरकोटयः । नवीन नवीन पल्लवनि के अंकुरनि करि अति सोभा भई । सु बसंत रितु विषे शाखानि कहं यह गुण भयी जु नव नव अंकुर भए । अरु । पिकपक्षिणां । कीकिलानि की । वाचः बानीं । बसंत रितु विषे प्रियाः । अति मनोहर होति हैं । कैसी कीकिलानि की बानी होति हैं । मधुर जु है अति मधु समान मधुर धुनि तिहिं करि । वृत्तोत्कंठाः । सुनैयानि के रति की उत्कंठाहि उपजावति हैं । सु बसंत रितु विषे कीकिलानि की । यह उत्तम गुण भयी जु मधुर धुनि



भई । अरु । वधूवदेदवः । स्त्रीनि के बदन चंद्रमा । विरलविरल-  
स्वेदोद्गाराः । कहूं कहूं प्रस्वेद बिंदुनि करि अति शोभा होति भई ।  
सु बसंत रितु विषैं स्त्रीनि कहूं यह उत्तम गुण भयी जु सुषु चंद्रमा विषैं  
प्रस्वेद बिंदुनि करि अति शोभा होति भई । तातें बसंत रितु विषैं उत्तम  
उत्तम गुण कौन कौन भए ॥

श्लो० । अच्छाच्छचंदनरसार्द्रकरा मृगादयो धारागृहानि कुसुमानि  
च कौमुदी च ॥ मंदो मरुत्सुवसनं शुचिहर्म्यपृष्ठं ग्रीष्मे मदं च मदनं च  
विवर्द्धयन्ति ॥ ३४ ॥

अर्थ । ग्रीष्मे । ग्रीष्म रितु विषे । दूतनी बातें । मदं च मदनं च ।  
पुरुषनि के मनहि अरु मदनहि । विवर्द्धयन्ति । क्षण क्षण बढ़ावति है ।  
कौन कौन बातें ते सब कहिजति हैं । पहिलैं तों । अच्छाच्छ कहेंतें  
अति स्वेच्छ घस्यो चंदनु तिहि करि आर्द्र कहेंतें भीजे हैं जु दोऊ कर  
जिनके ऐसी मृगाक्षीनि देषतहीं । मदु बढ़तु है अरु मदनु बढ़तु है ।  
ए सब कामोद्बोधक हैं । अरु धारागृहाणि । अंध्यारी छार्दे । अंध्यारीनि  
मध्य बैठत ही अरु अंध्यारीनि की सीतल सीतल बूंदें लगतही मदु अरु  
मदनु जु कामु तेउ बढ़त हैं । अरु । कुसुमानि च । सुगंध सुगंध कुसुम  
मद के अरु मदन के उपजाउनहार हैं । अरु । कौमुदी च । कौमुदी जु है  
जौन्ह सोउ फुनि मदहि अरु मदनहि बढ़ावति है । अरु । मंदो मरुत्  
मंद मंद बाधु फुनि मदनहि अरु मदहि बढ़ावति है । अरु सुवसनं ।  
स्वच्छ अति भीनें बसनें बसन फुनि मदहि अरु मदनहि बढ़ावतु है ।  
अरु शुचिहर्म्यपृष्ठं । अति उज्ज्वल बड़े बड़े गृह फुनि मदहि अरु मदनहि  
बढ़ावतु है ।

श्लो० । शास्त्रज्ञोपि प्रगुणितनयोप्यात्मबोधोपि गाढं संसारेक्षिन्  
भवति विरली भाजनं सद्गतीनां ॥ येनैतस्मिन् निरयनिलयद्वारमुद्घाटयंतौ  
वामाक्षीणां भ्रमति कुटिला भूलता कुंचिकेव ॥ ३५ ॥

अर्थ । शास्त्रज्ञोपि । शास्त्र जौ होइ । अरु । प्रगुणितनयोपि । नीति-  
शास्त्रहु यद्यपि नीके जानतु होइ । आत्माबोधोपि । आत्मा के स्वरूपहि  
यद्यपि जानैं तथापि । अक्षिन् संसारे । या संसार विषैं । सद्गतीनां ।  
सद्गतिनिकौ । भाजनं । पाउनहार । विरली भवति । कोउ सकृत् हीतु है ।  
याको यह अर्थ । कहा भयी शास्त्र के जाने । अरु कहा भयी नीति मार्ग  
चलें । अरु कहा भयी आत्माको बोधु भयें । सद्गति तौ काह सकृत् कहूं

होति है । येन । जा कारण ते । एतस्मिन् । या संसार विपे । वामाक्षीणां ।  
मृगाक्षीनिकौ भूलता भ्रमति । भौह चलति हैं । ताते मृगाक्षीनि को  
एतादृश भौह चलत जब देषी तब काहे को सद्गति । कैसी मृगाक्षीनि को  
भूलतां । कुंचिका दूब कुटिला । लोह की कुची समान वक्र हैं बहुरि कैसी  
है मृगाक्षीनि को भूलतां । निरय जु है नरकु सोई जु निलय घर ताके  
हारहि उवाटयंती । उधारि देति है । जैसे लोह की कुची घरके हारहि  
उधारि देति है ॥

श्लो० । उन्मीलत्रिवलीतरंगवलयया प्रोत्तुंगपीनस्तनदंदेनीयतचक्र-  
वाक्युगला वक्त्रांबुजीझासिनी ॥ कांताकारधरा नदीयमभितः क्रूरा च  
नापेक्ष्यते संसारार्णवमज्जनं यदि ततो दूरेण संत्यज्यतां ॥ ३६ ॥

अर्थ । अब भट्टहरि स्त्रीहि नदी करि वर्णत हैं । अरे लोग हो ॥  
संसारार्णवमज्जनं यदि नापेक्ष्यते । संसार समुद्र विपे जो तुम बूझ्यो नाहों  
चाहत तो । दूयं कांताकारधरा नदी । कांता जू है स्त्री सोई जु भई  
नदी सु । दूरेण संत्यज्यतां । दूरिहीते क्हांडिजी । यः स्त्री रूप नदी  
कैसी है । प्रोत्तुंग कहेते उन्नत अरु । पीन कहेते मसीर स्तन दंद कहा  
दोज स्तन तेई हैं उद्यत चक्रवाक युगल जा विपे अंम जे बहुरि यह  
स्त्री रूप नदी कैसी है । वक्र जु मुषु सोई है अंबुजु तिहिं करि । उझा-  
सिनी । अति ही बिराजति है । बहुरि कैसी है यह स्त्री रूप नदी ।  
अभितः क्रूरा च । सबही प्रकार अति क्रूर है । क्रूर कहावै भयानक ।  
ताते जो संसार समुद्र मध्य बूझ्यो न चाहिजे तो अंसो स्त्री रूप  
नदीहि लगते न जजे । स्त्री रूप नदी मांभ जो बूडिज तो बहुरि  
यहै स्त्री रूप नदी संसार समुद्र मांभ लै डारै । संसार कहावै जनमु  
मरनु ॥

श्लो० । इह हि मधुरगीतं रूपमेतद्रसोयं स्फुरति परिमलो सौ स्पर्श  
एष स्तनानां ॥ इति हृतपरमार्थैरिन्द्रियैर्भ्राम्यमाणः स्वहितकरणधूर्तैः  
पञ्चभिर्वंचितोऽस्मि ॥ ३७ ॥

अर्थ । अब भट्टहरि अपनी निन्दा करत हैं । देपहु । अहं ।  
पंचभिरिन्द्रियैः । पंचहू इन्द्रियनि करि । भ्राम्यमाणः । विहो कामहिं  
अमायी हो । अरु । वंचितोऽस्मि । भूठी बात सौं मेरी मनु वीराइके हो  
डहंकी फुनि हो । पंचौ इन्द्रिय मेरे कैसी हैं । इति । जाते यह बात मानत  
हैं ताते । हृतपरमार्थैः । इनि इन्द्रियनि को जू कछु सत्य वस्तुको ग्रहिबी

है सु अविद्या हयौ है । तहां कौन बस्तुहि कौन इन्द्रिय ग्रहति है सु कहि-  
जति है । इहहि मधुगोतं । या स्त्रीके कण्ठ विषे अति मधुर गीतु है ।  
मिथ्याभूत गीत सौ तौ अवेण्ड्रिय आसक्त भई । अरु । इह एतत् रूपं । या  
स्त्री को यह अति सुन्दर रूप है । यह मानिके मिथ्याभूत रूप विषे  
नेत्र इन्द्रिय आसक्त भई । अरु । असौ परिमलः । या स्त्री के मुख मध्य  
यह अति सुगन्ध बायु आवतु है । यह मानिके मिथ्याभूत परिमल विषे  
नासिका इन्द्रिय आसक्त भई । अरु । एष स्तनानां स्पर्शः । इन स्तननि को  
यह सुषद स्पर्श है । यह मानिके मिथ्याभूत स्पर्शही विषे त्वचा इन्द्रिय  
आसक्त भई । सु इहि प्रकार ए इन्द्रिय त्रैसे धूर्त आहि जु अपनी हितु तौ  
कोन्हौ मेरी कार्य न कीनों ॥

श्लो० । संसार तव निस्तारपदवी न दवीयसी ॥ अंतरा दुस्तरा न  
स्युर्यदि रे मदिरेक्षणाः ॥ ३८ ॥

अर्थ । अब भट्टहरि संसारसौ दुष पाद कहत हैं । रे संसार । तव  
निस्तारपदवी । तोहि पारहूबौ । न दवीयसी । अति दूर नाहीं । किंतु  
निकटहौ है । पै एक है । यदि । जी । मदिरेक्षणाः मदिरा समान है अति  
मादकु ईक्षण कहेंते अवलीकनु जिनकी त्रैसी स्त्री । अंतरा । बीच । दुस्तरा  
न स्युः । दुस्तर न होहौ । दुस्तर कहावै जु तयों न जाई । याको यह अर्थ ।  
संसार समुद्र के तरिबे कहु कछु अति कठिन नाहीं । पै भाई जी बीच  
प्रतिबन्ध स्त्री न होइ । स्त्री कैसी हैं जिन को कटाक्ष पूर्वक अवलीकनु  
मदिरा समान मादकु है । जैसे मदिरा पियत मत्त हीत हैं तैसेही स्त्री  
जातन कटाक्ष पूर्वक चितवति हैं सु पुरुष महामत्तु हैजातु है । याही  
तें स्त्री अति दुस्तर हैं तरी न जाई ॥

श्लो० । कामिनीकायकांतारे कुचपर्वतदुर्गमे ॥ मा संचर मनः पांथ  
तत्रास्ते क्षरतस्करः ॥ ३९ ॥

अर्थ । अब भट्टहरि अपन मनहि सिषवत हैं । अरे मनः पांथ ।  
अरे पथिक मन । कामिनीनि को जु काय कहा शरीर सोई जु भयौ  
कांतार कहा अति विषम मार्ग ता विषे । मा संचर । जनि जाहि ।  
है कैसी यह मार्ग । कुचपर्वतदुर्गमे । कामिनीनिके जु कुच तेई जु पर्वत  
तिनि करि मछा दुर्गमु है यह मार्ग । ताते इहि मार्ग तू जनि जाहि ।  
जाते । तत्र । या मार्ग विषे । क्षरतस्कर आस्ते । क्षरु जु है कामु सोई  
जु भयौ तस्कर महाबटपरा सौ लग्योई रहतु है ॥

श्लो० । शृंगारदुमनीरदे विसृमरक्रीडासरस्तीतसि प्रद्युम्नप्रियबांधवे  
चतुरतामुक्ताफलोदन्वति ॥ तन्वीनेत्रचकोरपार्वणविधौ सौभाग्यलक्ष्मी-  
निधौ धन्यः कीपि न विक्रियां कलयति प्राप्ते नवे यौवने  
॥ ४० ॥

अर्थ । नवे यौवने प्राप्ते । नव यौवनु प्राप्त भयेतें । यः । कीपि । जु  
कीज । विक्रियां न कलयति । विकारहि न प्राप्त होई । स धन्यः ।  
स पुरुष अति धन्य है । नातर यौवनहि पादके कौन के नाहीं विकार  
होतु । है कैसी नव यौवनु । शृङ्गारदुमनीरदे । शृङ्गार जु है शृङ्गार रस  
सोई जु भयो दुम ताहि सौंचि बढाईवे कहुं नीरद प्राय है । जैसे नीरद  
दुमहि सौंचि सौंचि बढाउतु है तैसेहीं नव यौवनु शृङ्गारहि क्षणहूं क्षण  
बढावतु है । बहुरि नव यौवनु कैसी है । विसृमर कहेंतें जु क्षण क्षण  
प्रति कीजति है औसी जु क्रीडा ताके कीबे कहुं सरोवर प्राय है । जैसे  
सरोवरहि पादके जलक्रीडा बार बार कीजति है । तैसेहीं नव यौवनहि  
पादके क्षण क्षण क्रीडा कीजति है । बहुरि नव यौवनु कैसी है ।  
प्रद्युम्नप्रियबांधवे । प्रद्युम्न जु है कामुदेव सोई जु है प्रिय बंधु जाको  
औसी है । जैसे हितकारी बधु अपनें हितु वाको समीप नाहीं छांडतु ।  
तैसें कामु फुनि नव यौवन के समीपहि नाहीं छांडतु । जहां नव यौवनु तहां  
कामु । बहुरि नव यौवनु कैसी है । चतुरतामुक्ताफलोदन्वति । चतुरताई  
जु मुक्ताफलु ताके उपजादवे कहुं समुद्र प्राय है । जैसे समुद्र विषें मुक्ता  
उपजत है तैसें नव यौवन विषें चातुरी उपजति है । बहुरि नव यौवनु  
कैसी है । तन्वीनेत्रचकोरपार्वणविधौ । तन्वी स्त्री के जु नेत्र तेई जु भए  
चकोर तिनके बिलास करादवे कहुं पार्वण बिधु प्राय है । पार्वण बिधु  
कहावे पूर्णमासी को चन्द्रमा । तातें जैसें सम्पूर्ण चन्द्रमा की उदय भय  
तें चकोर अनेक बिलासनि करतु है । तैसेंही नव यौवन की उदौ  
भयेतें तरुणी के नेत्र अनेक बिलास करत हैं । बहुरि नव यौवनु कैसी  
है । सौभाग्यलक्ष्मीनिधौ । सौभाग्य जु है सुहागु सोई जु लक्ष्मी  
कहेंतें सम्पति ताकी निधौ निधि नव यौवनु है । स औसी यौवनहि  
पादके जाके बिकार न होहि स धन्य है ॥

श्लो० । रागस्यागारमेकं नरकशतमहादुःखसंप्राप्तिहेतुर्मोहस्योत्पत्ति-  
बौजं जलधरपटलं ज्ञानताराधिपस्य ॥ कंदर्पस्यैकमित्रं प्रकटितविविध  
स्रष्टृदोषप्रबंधं लोकेषिन्नश्चनर्थब्रजकुलभवनं यौवनादग्यदस्ति ॥ ४१ ॥

अर्थ । अस्मिन् लोके । यालोक विषे । यौवनात् अन्यत् । यौवन ते और कहू । अनर्थब्रजकुलभवनं नास्ति । सकल अनर्थनि की जु ब्रजु कहेंतें समूह ताकी जु कुलभवनु और नाहीं किंतु सकल अनर्थनि की कुलभवनु है । कुलभवनु कहावे परंपरा की मूर अरु घर । तहां यौवन कौन कौन अनर्थनि की घर है सु कहिजतु है । है कीसो यौवन । रागस्यागारं । विषय मनोरथनि की घर है यौवन । अरु नरकगत जु हैं अनेक प्रकारनि के नरक अरु महादुषनि के पादवे कहु अकेली यौवन हेतु है । अरु । मोहस्य उत्पत्तिबीजं । मूढता की उत्पत्ति की बीजभूतु अकेली यौवन है । अरु ज्ञानताराधिपस्य । ग्यानु जु भयो ताराधिपु चंद्रमा ताकी प्रकास दूरि कीबे कहु । जलधरपटलं । मेघ समूह प्राय अकेली यौवन है । अरु कंदर्पस्य एकमित्रं । कंदर्प की मुख्य मित्रु अकेली यौवन है । तहां यौवन कंदर्प की कीसो मित्रु है । प्रगट करे हैं विविध दोषनि के प्रबंध जिहि औसो है । यौवन विषे अनेक दोष उपजत हैं ॥

श्लो० । द्रष्टव्येषु किमुत्तमं मृगदृशः प्रेमप्रसन्नं सुखं घ्रातव्येष्वपि किं तदास्यपवनः श्रव्येषु किं तदहः ॥ किं स्वादेषु तदोष्ठपल्लवरसः स्पर्शेषु किं तत्तनुर्धर्यं किं नवयौवने सद्दृश्यैः सर्वत्र तद्विभ्रमः ॥ ४२ ॥

अर्थ । जो कोऊ यह पूछे कि । द्रष्टव्येषु किं उत्तमं । द्रष्टव्य कहावे जु वस्तु नेत्रनिके देखिबे कहु सुंदर है सु तिनि सकल द्रष्टव्यनि मध्य उत्तम द्रष्टव्य की है । तो ताहि यह उत्तर दीबो कि । मृगदृशः प्रेमप्रसन्नं सुखं । भर्ता के प्रेम करि अति प्रसन्न रहतु जु है मृगाक्षी की मुषु सबही दर्शनीय वस्तुनि मध्य देखिबे कहु परम उत्तम है । अरु जो कोऊ यह पूछे कि । घ्रातव्येष्वपि किं उत्तमं । घ्रातव्य वस्तु कहावति है जु आघ्रातु लीबे कहु सुगन्ध वस्तु है सु तिनि सकल घ्रातव्य वस्तुनि मध्य अति उत्तम घ्रातव्य वस्तु कौन है । तो याकी उत्तर यह दीबो कि । तदास्यपवनः । मृगाक्षी की जु आस्य कहेंतें मुषु ता मध्य की पवनु सब सुगंध वस्तुनि मध्य उत्तम सुगंध है । अरु जो कोऊ यह पूछे कि । श्रव्येषु किं उत्तमं । जु जु श्रवणनि सुनिबे कहु मधुर बात हैं जैसे कोकिल की गूँद बीणा की धुनि । ति सब औसो औसो बात श्रव्य कहावे सु तिनि सब वस्तुनि मध्य उत्तम श्रव्य कहा है । तो याकी उत्तर यह दीबो कि । तदहः । मृगाक्षी की बचन सबही श्रोतव्यनि की

अति उत्तम है। अरु जो कोऊ यह पूछे कि। खाद्येषु किं उत्तमं। जिनि जिनि वस्तुनि को अति नौकी खादु है ति सब वस्तु खाद्य कहावै। सु तिनि सब खाद्य वस्तुनि मध्य उत्तम खादवंत वस्तु कौन है। तो याको उत्तर यह दीवौ कि। तदोष्ठपल्लवरसः। मृगाक्षी के वोष्ठ पल्लवनि की रसु सबही आखाद्य वस्तुनितें अति खादवंत है। अरु जो कोऊ यह पूछे कि। स्पृश्येषु किं उत्तमं। जिनि जिनि को स्पर्श सुषद है ति सब वस्तु स्पृश्य कहावै सु तिनि सबही स्पृश्य वस्तुनि मध्य सुषद स्पर्श कौन की है। तो याको उत्तर यह दीवौ कि। तत्तनु। सबही के स्पर्श तें मृगाक्षी कीं शरीर अति सुषद है। अरु जो कोऊ यह पूछे कि। सर्वत्र। सबही वस्तुनि मध्य ध्येयं किं। ध्यानु कीबे कहूं कौन वस्तु उत्तम है। तो याको उत्तर यह दीवौ कि। नव यौवने तद्विभ्रम। नव यौवन विषें मृगाक्षी के बिलासनि को ध्यानु कर्तव्य है। अब भर्तृहरि तोनि श्लोकनि करि बेश्यानि की निंदा करत हैं ॥

श्लो०। जात्यंधाय च दुर्मदाय च जराजीर्णाखिलांगाय च दुःशीलाय च दुर्मुखाय च गलत्कुष्टाय भूताय च ॥ यत्कंतीषु मनोहरं निजवपुर्लक्ष्मी-  
लवश्रद्धया पण्यस्त्रीषु विवेककल्पलतिकाशस्त्रीषु रज्येत कः ॥ ४३ ॥

अर्थ। एवं भूतकः। औसी मूर्ख की है जु। पण्यस्त्रीषु। बेश्यानि विषें। रज्येत। अनुरक्त होइ। है कैसी बेश्या। विवेककल्पलतिकाशस्त्रीषु। विवेकु वै जु कल्पलता ताहि अनायासही काटिबे कहूं शस्त्री प्राय है। शस्त्री कहावै कुरी। स जैसे तीक्ष्ण कुरी लताहि अनायासही काटि डारति है तैसेही बेश्याकी संगति विवेकहि काटति है। अरु ज्ञानहि अनायासही काटति है। बहुरि बेश्या कैसी है। लक्ष्मीलवश्रद्धया। धीरेही द्रव्य कहूं। मनोहरं निजवपुः। अति मनोहर अपने शरीराहि। औसीहुं कदर्य पुरुष कहूं। यत्कंतीषु। देति है। कैसे पुरुषहि अपनी शरीर देति है। जात्यंधायच। जनम के आंधरे कहूं तनक धन के लोभ तें अपने दिव्य शरीरहि देति है। अरु दुर्मदाय च। दुषदायक है रक्षी है मानु जि पुरुष विषें ताहू कहूं अपने शरीरहि देति है। अरु। जराजीर्णाखिलांगाय च। जरा करि जीर्ण है रक्षी है अंग जिनिकी औसे वृद्ध कहूं तनक धनके लोभ आपनी दिव्य देहहि अर्पतौ हैं। अरु। दुःशीलाय च। अति दुषद है स्वभाव जिनि पुरुषनि की तिहि अपने शरीरहि नौकें देति है। अरु दुर्मुखाय च। जु सर्वदा दुर्बचन बोलतु है ताहू कहूं अपने शरीरहि

देति है । अरु बहुत कहालो कहिजै । जु सर्वदा । गलत्कुष्ठाय भूताय च । गिरि गिरि परतु है कोढ़ जाके अंगनि तेँ अैसेहू मनुष्यहि तनक धनके लोभते अपने दिव्य शरीरहि देति हैं । सु अैसे बेस्यानि सौ को मूर्ख अनुरक्तु है ॥

श्लो० । कश्चुवति कुलपुरुषो बेश्याधरपल्लवं मनोश्मपि ॥ नटभट-  
चेरकचारणविटनिष्ठौवनशरावं ॥ ४४ ॥

अर्थ । मनोश्मपि बेश्याधरपल्लवं । यद्यपि बेश्या के अधर पल्लव अति मनोहर हैं तदपि । कः कुलपुरुषः । अैसे कुलीनु पुरुष को है जु । चुवति । बेश्या के अधरपल्लवनि को चुबनु करिहै । कैसी है वह बेश्या को अधरपल्लव । नट अरु भट अरु चेरक कहेंते चरे अरु चारण अरु विट कहेंते और ऊ लंपट । तिनि सबनि के । निष्ठौवनशरावं । थूँकिये की शरीया है । याको यह अर्थ । जैसे थूँकिये की पात्रु माटी की सरैया होति है तैसेहो नट भट चरे बेश्यानि के अधर पल्लवनि को चुबनु जु करत हैं सु ताते बेश्या के अधर पल्लवनि मध्य नट भट चरेनि को थूँकु लगतु है । सु ताते बेश्यानि के अधर पल्लव नट भट चरेनि के थूँकिये की सरैया प्राय है । सु अैसे अधम अधरपल्लवनि को चुबनु को कुलीनु पुरुष करिहै ।

श्लो० । बेश्यासी मदनज्वाला रूपेधनविवर्द्धिता ॥ कामिभिस्तत्र  
हूयंते यौवनानि धनानि च ॥ ४५ ॥

अर्थ । अैसे बेश्या । यह जु है बेश्या सु । मदनज्वाला है । अरु रूपेधनविवर्द्धिता । रूप जु है सुंदरता साई धनु तिहि करि अतिहो बढाई है । ताते या कामाग्नि की ज्वाला रूप बेश्या विषे । कामिभिः । कामी पुरुषनि करि । यौवनानि धनानि च । अपने यौवन अरु धन । हूयंते । होमत हैं । बेश्या के संगति यौवन अरु धन दोज जात हैं ॥

श्लो० । मधुरयं मधुरैरपि कोकिलाकलकलैर्मलयस्य च वायुभिः ॥  
विरहिणः प्रतिहन्ति शरीरिणो विपदि हन्त सुधापि विषायते ॥ ४६ ॥

अर्थ । अयं मधुः । यह वसंत रितु । कोकिलाकलकलैः । कोकिलानि के मधुर शब्द करि कै । अरु । मलयस्य च वायुभिः । मलयज के सुवासहि लये आवतु जु है मलय पर्वत संबंधी वायु तिनि करि कै । विरहिणः शरीरिणः । विरही जननि । प्रतिहन्ति । मारतु है । मारिबोई मझा दुष दोबी जानिबो । सु वे वसंत रितु संबंधी कोकिलानिके शब्द चाही मधुरै-रपि । यद्यपि अति मधुर हैं तऊ विरही जननि कहुं अति दुष देतु है ।

तहां जो कोऊ यह कहै कि कोकिलानि को मधुर धुनि सुनिके  
बिरहोनि के परम सुषु तो हों न बूझिजे दुषु काहे तें होतु हैं।  
तहां कह्यौ कि। विपदि। दुषु मध्य। शरीरिण। देहधारो कहूं।  
सुधापि। सुधाऊ। विपायते। विषु सो लगति है। यह किरात काव्य  
विषे कह्यौ है ॥

श्लो०। आतपे धृतिमता सह वध्या यामिनोविरहिणा विहगेन।  
सेहिरे न किरणा हिमरश्मेर्दुःखिते मनसि सर्वमसह्यम् ॥ १ ॥

अर्थ। या श्लोक को यह अर्थ। विहगेन। चक्रवाक। आतपे।  
दिवसके अति कठिन घाम विषे। सह वध्या। चक्रवाको के संजीग।  
धृतिमता। ऐसी धैर्य धरे रह्यौ जु घाम नेकहूं न लाग्यो। सु यह सब  
स्त्री के साथ को सुषु आहि। ता पाछे बहुरि। यामिनीविरहिणा। रात्रि  
विषे जब वहै चक्रवाक विरही भयो तब। ऐसी कातरता भई जु। हिम-  
रश्मेः। चंद्रमा के। किरणाः। परम सीतल किरणः। न सेहिरे। न सहे  
गए। ऐसी है अति गयार न लागे जु। यह कहूँ अश्वार्यु न जानिबो।  
जातें। दुःखिते मनसि। मन मध्य जब दुषु भयो तब। सर्व असह्यं। सुषु  
तो बस्तु अति दुषुद लागति है ॥

श्लो०। तावन्महत्वं पांडित्यं विवेकित्वं कुलीनता ॥ यावज्ज्वलति  
नांगेषु हतः पंचेषुपावकः ॥ ४७ ॥

अर्थ। महत्वं तावत्। महापुरुष को महत्य तोही लौं रहतु है।  
अरु। पांडित्यं तावदेव। पंडित विषे पांडित्य तोही लौं है। अरु।  
विवेकित्वं तावदेव। विवेकी पुरुषनि विषे विवेकु तोही लौं रहतु है। अरु  
कुलीनकी कुलीनता फुनि तोही लौं है। यावत्। जौलौं। हतः पंचेषु-  
पावकः। देवहत कामा अगिनि। अंगेषु। ईतनेनि के अंगनि मध्य।  
न ज्वलति। नाहीं प्रज्वलतु। जबहौं अंग विषे काम अगिनि उठी तबही  
काहे को महत्त्व अरु। काहे को पांडित्य। अरु। काहेको विवेकु। अरु  
काहेकी कुलीनता। किंतु काम के बख्य ऐसी होतु है जु अगम्यागमनु  
करत बिचारतु नाहीं ॥ यह प्रबोधचंद्रोदय ग्रंथ विषे कामदेव अपनें हो  
सुषु कह्यौ है ॥

श्लो०। अहिल्याया जारः सुरपतिरभूदात्मतनयां प्रजानाथोऽयासी-  
दभजत गुरोरिंदुरबलां ॥ इति प्रायः को वा न पदमपदे कार्यतमया अमी  
महाणानां क इव भुवनीमाथविधिषु ॥ १ ॥



अर्थ । काम दंभ सौ अपनी बड़ाई मारतु हैं । देषु दंभ । मेरी बानु जबहीं इंद्रहि लग्यौ तबहीं । सुरपतिः । इंद्र । अहिल्यायाः । अहिल्या नाम गौतम रिपौश्वर की स्त्री की । जारोभूत । जारु जाइ भयौ । कछु यह विवेकु न रक्ष्यौ कि यह ब्राह्मण की स्त्री है तौ हीं अगम्यागमनु न करौ । अरु । प्रजानाथः । ब्रह्मा पुनि । आत्मतनयां अयासीत् । अपनी कन्या हीं कीं व्यभिचार कीवे कहुं प्रवृत्तु भयौ । कछु यह न बिचारौ कि इहि बात ते मेरी पांडित्य जैहै । अरु मेरी महत्व जैहै । अरु मेरी बानु लगेंत इंद्रुः चन्द्रमा पुनि । गरीरबलां । अपनों गुरु बृहस्पति तौ ताछुकी स्त्री सौं । अभजत । भजनु करतु भयौ । तातें । महाणनां । मेरे बाणनि कहुं । भवनीन्मायविधिषु । समस्त भुवन मथत । को वा अमः । कौनु अमु है । किन्तु मेरे बाण समस्त भुवननि अनायासही मथत है ॥

श्लो० । शंभुस्वयंभुहरयो हरिणेक्षणां येनाक्रियंत सततं गृहकुंभ-  
दासाः ॥ वाचामगोचरचरित्रपवित्रताय तस्मै नमो भगवते कुसुमायुधाय ॥ ४८ ॥

अर्थ । अब भर्तृहरि कामदेवकी पराक्रम कहत हैं । येन । जिहि कामदेव । शंभुस्वयंभुहरयः । महादेव ब्रह्मा विष्णु एक तीन्यौ । हरिणेक्षणां । मृगाक्षी स्त्रीनि के । गृहकुंभदासा अक्रियंत । घर के पहीर करे हैं । याकी यह अर्थु । कामदेव ए तीन्यौ देवता स्त्रीनि के बख्श ऐसे करे है जु महादेव तौ अपनी स्त्री अर्धांग कीन्ही है । अरु । ब्रह्मा अपनी कन्याही पर बिकार बुद्धि करी । अरु । विष्णु अपनी स्त्री लक्ष्मी अपने बक्षस्थल पर रापी हैं । तातें जिहि काम ऐसेहूनि कहुं यह कीन्ही है । तस्मै । ता काम कहुं नमस्कार । है कैसी काम । कुसुमायु-  
धाय । कुसुम जु हैं फूल सीद्ध हैं आयुध हाथ्यार जाके । याकी यह अर्थु । भर्तृहरि यह कहत हैं कि हीं कामदेव कहुं नमस्कार यातें करतु जु काम की शक्ति ऐसी बडी हैं । जु कुसुम के आयुधनि ऐसे ऐसे बडे देवतानि हूं जोति करि स्त्रीनि के बख्श करे हैं । याही तें बानीनि कहुं अगोचर है । ऐसे ऐसे चरित्र जोके ऐसी काम है । यद्यपि औरनि को ऐसी है तदपि अपनु पवित्र है ॥

श्लो० । स्त्रीमुद्रां भपकेतनस्य विवृतां सर्वार्थसंपत्करीं ये मूढाः  
प्रविष्टाय यांति कुधिषो मिथ्याफलान्वेषिणः ॥ ते तेनैव निहत्य निर्हृतं  
नग्नीकृता मुंडिताः केचिद्रक्तपट्टीकृताश्च जटिलाः कापालिकाश्चपरे ॥ ४९ ॥

अर्थ । भ्रषकेतनस्य । कामदेव की । परमां स्त्रीमुद्रां । अति सुंदर  
जु स्त्री रूप छाप ताहि । ये कुधियः । ये कुबुद्धि पुरुष । प्रविहाय । छाडि  
करि । मिथ्याफलान्वेषिणः । और कछू मिथ्याभूत फल स्वर्गादिकनि  
को दृच्छा करि । अन्यत्र यांति । और मार्ग चलत हैं । ते मूढाः । ति मूढ  
पुरुष । तेनैव । कामदेव ही । निर्दयतरं निहत्य । अति निर्दय हैं दुषु  
पादकी मारिकी तब निकासि दएस । केचित् नग्नीकृताः । कितेकज  
तो नग्नकरि निकासि । दिगंबर संन्यासी नग्न रहत हैं अरु स्त्रीनि  
छाड़ें रहत हैं सु उनि कहुं कामदेव आपनें हाथ की छाप स्त्री दर्ई छुती  
सु इनि अनादर करि अंगीकार न कीन्हैं सु कामदेव अति दुषु पादकी  
नांगी करि निकासि हैं । अरु । केचित् मुंडिताः । कितेकज मुडिया करि  
निकासि हैं । जोगी मुडिया होत हैं । अरु । केचित् रक्तपटीकृताः । कितेकी  
राति बस्त्र पहिराद निकासि । अरु अपरे कापालिकाः । एक पप्परु हाथ दै  
निकासि । अरु । केचित् जटिलाः । कितेकज जटाधारी करि निकासि ॥

श्लो० । विस्तारितं मकरकेतनधीवरेण स्त्रीसंज्ञितं बडिशमत्र भवांबु-  
राशौ ॥ येनाचिरात्तदधरामिषलुब्धमर्त्यमत्स्यान्विकृष्य सः पचत्यनुराग-  
वक्त्रौ ॥ ५० ॥

अर्थ । अत्र भवांबुराशौ । या संसार समुद्र मध्य । मकरकेतन-  
धीवरेण । मकर केतन जु है कामु सोई जु भयो डौमरु तिहि । स्त्री-  
संज्ञितं बडिशं । स्त्री रूप बनसो । विस्तारितं । पसारो है । सु यह स्त्री  
बनसी कैसी है । येन । जिहि स्त्रीरूप बनसी करि । अचिरात् । वेगिही दै ।  
तदधरामिषलुब्धमर्त्यमत्स्यान् । स्त्री के जु अधर सोई जु भयो आमिष  
ला विषे लुब्ध कहैं ते अति लोभो जु । मर्त्य कहेंते मनुष्य तेई जु मत्स्य  
तिनि मत्स्यानि । विकृष्य । अँचिके । सः । वह काम डौमरु । अनुराग-  
वक्त्रौ । अनुराग अगिनि मध्य । पचति । रांधतु है । जैसे डौमरु बनसी  
करि मोननि विधैकरि अगिनि मध्य रांधतु है । ईहां कामु डौमरु भयो ।  
स्त्री बनसी भई । स्त्री को अधर आमिष भयो । अनुराग अगिनि भयो ॥

श्लो० । उन्मत्तप्रेमसंरंभादारंभन्तेयदंगनाः ॥ तत्र प्रत्यूहमाधातुं  
ब्रह्मापि खलु कातरः ॥ ५१ ॥

अर्थ । अंगना जु है स्त्री स । उन्मत्तप्रेमसंरंभात् । प्रेम के  
अति आवेश करि । यत् आरंभंते । जु कार्य करन चाहति हैं । तत्र । ता  
कार्य विषे । ब्रह्माज । प्रत्यूह आधातुं । अंतराज कौबे कहुं । कातरः ।

कादरु है। कादरु कहावै असमर्थ। जु कछु स्त्री कखौ चाहैं सु अवस्य करहि। ताको अंतराज ब्रह्मा पछं न कखौ जाइ और की कितौक बात। जैसे एक कथा भागवत विधि है। जु एक समय कस्यपु संध्या समय विधि संध्या की ईश्वर की सुमिरनु करत बैठे हुते। तब दूतनें बीच कस्यप की स्त्री दितिहि कांसु जु अति व्याप्यौ तब कस्यप के आंगे टाढी भई टाढें है करि कहन लगी कि अच्छी प्राणेश्वर कस्यप। तुम्हारे लये यह कांसु मोहि आनि व्याप्यौ है सु मेरे काम को सांति करहुं। अरु। देषहु अदितिहि आदि दै जितौक मेरीं सब सपत्नी हैं सु तिनि सपत्नीनि के पुत्रनि की मुषु दैपत मेरे परम संताप होतु है। मेरे पुत्रु नाहीं सु मोकहुं कृपा करि रति दानु देहु। मोपर अनुग्रह करहु। तब यह सुनि कस्यप यह बिचारी। कि भाई अबहिन संध्या समी हैं रति दानु दीबे कहूं उचितु नाहीं सु जो लौ यह संध्या बीतु जाइ तो लौ होय याहि बातनि लगाऊं। यह मिसु करि कस्यप दितिहि बातनि लगाउत हैं। अच्छी दिति बहुतु नीकी तुम भली बात कह्यो है। जु कछु तुम्हारे ईछा है सुहो करौ। ता स्त्री की मनोरथु को न करें जा स्त्री की संगति अर्थ धर्म कामु मोछ होतु है। अरु स्त्री की संगति ग्रहस्थु और तिनिह आश्रमनि की पालना करतु है। अरु अपनु संसार समुद्र के पार होतु है सु स्त्री औसी बडी है। अरु स्त्री पुरुष को अर्धांगु है। अरु स्त्री औसी है जाके बल ग्रहस्थु बडे रिपु इंद्रियनि जोततु है। और तीनिह आश्रमनि इंद्रिय डगावतौ हैं। सु तिनि इंद्रियनि हम तुम्हारे बल अनायास हो जोतत हैं। जैसे गढपती गढ के बल शत्रुनि जोतत है। ताते सुनहु दिति जौलौ हमारी, संपूर्ण आउ बोतिहै ती लौ हम तुमहि उरन न है सकिहैं। ताते अबहि हमारी एक बिनतौ मानहुं। अबहि यह महाघोर बेरा है। सु इहि बेरां भूत परीत फिरत हैं। अरु महादेउ फुनि अबहि फिरत हैं सु महादेव जो देपिहै तो हम पर दुषु पाइहै। सु तुम घरीकु देषहु। दूतनों बात जबही कस्यप कह्यो दिति के मन एकौ न आई। कामु जु अतिहो व्याप्यौ सु दौरि की दिति कस्यप जाइ गहे अति आतुर है रति दानु मांगन लगौ तब कस्यप मन मध्य दुषु पाइकी ईश्वर सौ अपराधु क्षमाइकी दिति कहूं रति दानु दैत भए। सु ताते इहि प्रकार स्त्री जु कछु कयो चाहैं ताको अंतराज न करहौ ॥

श्लो० । प्रणयमधुराः प्रमोद्वारा रसादवशास्तथा भणितिमधुरा मुग्ध-  
प्रायाः प्रकाशितसंमदाः ॥ प्रकृतिसुभगा विश्रंभार्द्राः सरोदयकारिणो रहसि  
किमपि स्वरालापा हरंति मृगोदृशां ॥ ५२ ॥

अर्थ० । मृगोदृशां । मृगाक्षीनि के । रहसि । एकांत विषे । स्वराला-  
पाः । अपनी ईछा की अैसे अैसे बचन । किमपि । कछू अलौकिक  
प्रकारनि करि । हरंति । पुरुषनि बस्य करति हैं । सु वि मृगाक्षीनि के  
बचन कैसे हैं । प्रणयमधुराः । भर्ता के प्रेम करि सींचे जु हैं सु तातें अति  
मधुर जु है । अरु । प्रेमोद्वाराः । उनि मृगाक्षीनि के बचन न होही मानहुं ।  
किंतु उनि मृगाक्षीनि के हृदयनि विषे जु अति बहुतु प्रेमु है सु ता  
प्रेम के उद्धार आहिं मानहुं । उद्धार कहावै, उकार । बहुरि कैसे  
हैं मृगाक्षीनि के बचन । रसोत्करसंभृताः । रस समूह भरे हैं ।  
बहुरि कैसे हैं मृगाक्षीनि के बचन । भणितमधुराः । कहत मात्रहीं  
मधुर ताहि स्रवत हैं । अरु याही तें । मुग्धप्रायाः । अति मनोहर हैं  
मृगाक्षीनि के बचन । बहुरि मृगाक्षीनि के बचन कैसे हैं । प्रकाशित-  
संमदाः । सुनत मात्रहीं परम आनंदहि प्रगासत है । बहुरि कैसे हैं  
मृगाक्षीनि के बचन । विश्रंभार्द्राः । भर्ता को जु विश्रंभ कहा विश्वास  
तिहि करि आर्द्र कहा भोजे । बहुरि कैसे है मृगाक्षीनि के बचन ।  
सरोदयकारिणः । सुनतहीं कामहिं उपजावत हैं । अैसे मृगाक्षीनि के  
बचन को न बस्य करहिं ॥

श्लो० । मालती शिरसि जृम्भणोन्मुखी चंदनं वपुषि कुकुमाविलं ॥  
बक्षसि प्रियतमा मदालसा स्वर्ग एष परिशिष्ट आगतः ॥ ५३ ॥

अर्थ० । शिरसि माथे पर । जृम्भणोन्मुखी मालती । तबहीं के  
बिकसे जाई के फूल । अरु । वपुषि । देह विषे । कुकुमाविलं । केसरि  
सौ मिश्रित चंदनु लग्यौ । अरु । बक्षसि । बक्षस्थल सौ लगी । मदालसा ।  
गर्व तें अलसानी सी । प्राणप्रिया । इतनी बातें जु हैं सु मानहुं । एष  
परिशिष्टः स्वर्ग आगतः । यह मानहुं या लोक विषे स्वर्ग आइ रह्यौ है ।  
इतनी बातें साक्षात स्वर्ग आहि ॥

श्लो० । कुकुमपंककलंकितदेहा गौरपयोधरकंपितहारा ॥ नूपुरहंस-  
रणत्पदपद्मा कं न वशीकुरुते भुवि रामा ॥ ५४ ॥

अर्थ० । भुवि । या भूमी लोक विषे । रामा जु है स्त्री सु । कं न  
वशी कुरुते । काहि बस्य नाहीं करति । किंतु अैसी स्त्री बस्य काहि

न करें। कैसी स्त्री। कुंकुमपंककलंकितदेहा। घसी केसरि के अंग करि अति सोहतु है देहु जाकी अैसी हैं। अरु। गौर बण जु पयोधर तिनि ऊपर कंपित है हारु जिनि की अैसी हैं। अरु। नूपुरै भए हंसते रणत् कहेंतें मधुर धुनिहिं करत हैं पद पद्मनि मध्य जार्क अैसी स्त्री काहि न बख्य करें ॥

श्लो०। नूनं हि ते कविवरा विपरीतबोधा ये नित्यमाहुरबला इति कामिनीस्ताः ॥ याभिर्विलीलतरतारकदृष्टिपातैः शक्रादयोपि विजिता अबलाः कथं ताः ॥ ५५ ॥

अर्थ। नूनं। हम यह बात निश्चय करें कहत हैं। ते कविवरा। ते कवीश्वर। विपरीतबोधाः। और की औरई जानत हैं। यथार्थु नाहीं जानत। जे कवीश्वर। ताः कामिनी। अैसी कामिनीनि सौं। अबला इति। अबला कहत है। याभिः जिनि कामिनीनि। विलील तारेनि के दृष्टि पातनि करि। शक्रादयोपि। इंद्रादिक देवताज। विजिताः। जीति बख्य करे हैं। ता अबलाः कथं। ति अबला कैसें कहिजे ॥

श्लो०। उद्धृतस्तनभार एष तरले नेत्रे चले भ्रूलते रागाधिष्ठित-मोष्ठपल्लवमिदं कुर्वंतु नाम व्यथां ॥ सौभाग्याक्षरपंक्तिकेव लिखिता पुष्पायु-धेन स्वयं मध्यस्थापि करोति तापमधिकं रोमावली सा कथं ॥ ५६ ॥

अर्थ। भटंहरि कहत हैं कि। देषहु। एष उद्धृतस्तनभारः। तरुणी के उद्धृत कहेंतें बर्तुलाकार दीज स्तन। अरु। तरले नेत्रे। चंचल नेत्र दीज। अरु चले भ्रूलते। बक्र दीज भोंहैं। अरु। रागा-धिष्ठितमोष्ठपल्लवं। अति रागवंत वोष्ठ पल्लव। रागु कहावै अनुरागु आरक्तता। अरु। रागु कहावै अभिलाषु। सु तरुणी के इतने अंग दिषै-यानि कहूं। व्यथां कुर्वंतु। संतापहि करहु यह युगतही की है याकी कछू आश्चर्यु नाहीं। जाते जु उद्धृतु होतु है ताकें दरसन संतापुध्यादुजतु है। उद्धृत शब्दहीं मध्य ईहां श्लेष जानिबौ। उद्धृत कहेंतें गोट-मटारी जानिबौ। अरु उद्धृत पापी कहावतु है। अरु तरुणी तरल नेत्र देषतहों काम संतापु उपजतु है। सु यहउ जुक्त की है। युपै चंचलु भयो सु औरहि दुष अवश्य देतु है। अरु तरुणी की बक्र भोंहैं देखत कामु संतापु उपजातु है। सु यहउ युगत की है। जु बक्र स्वभाववंतु है सु औरहि संतापु देतु वै है। अरु तरुणी के रागवंतु वोष्ठ पल्लवनि तज चितवत कामु संतापु उपजतु है सु यह फुनि युगत ही की है। जु रागवंतु

हे सु अपने रागहि सिद्ध कोबे कहूं औरहि दुषु देतु है । सु इनि को तो काछू आचर्य नाहों । ते यहई बडौ आचर्यु आउतु है । जु रोमावली अति संतापहि काहेंते देति है । है कैसी रोमावली । मध्यस्थापि । उदर मध्य स्थित है । जु मध्यस्थु होइ सु औरहि दुषु न दें न बूझिये । तहा रोमावलीहि उपमा देत हैं भर्तृहरि । तरुणीके उदर मध्य यह रोमावली न होइ । किंतु । पुष्पायुधेन । कामदेव अपने हाथ लिषी है औसी तरुणीके सुहाग के आपरनि की पंक्ति आहि मानहुं ॥

श्लो० । जल्पन्ति सार्द्धमन्येन पश्यन्त्यन्यं सविभ्रमाः ॥ हृदये चिंतयन्त्यनं न स्त्रीणामेकतो रतिः ॥ ५७ ॥

अर्थ । स्त्रीणां रतिः । स्त्रीनि कें प्रीति । एकतो न । एक पुरुष सों नाहों । किंतु । अन्येन सार्द्धं जल्पन्ति । और सो बात कहति हैं । अरु । सविभ्रमाः । बिलास पूर्वक । अन्यं पश्यन्ति । और काछू तन चितवति हैं । अरु । हृदये । हृदय विषे । अन्यं चिंतयन्ति । काछू औरही को ध्यानु करति हैं । तातें काछू तन चितवति बात कहति मन मध्य कोऊ और वै हैं । सु इहि प्रकार स्त्रीनि कें एक ही सों प्रीति नाहों । यह पुराननि हूं मध्य कही है ॥

श्लो० । स्वपरप्रतारकोसौ निंदति योलीकपंडितो युवतीः ॥ यस्मान्नपसोऽपि फलं स्वर्गः स्वर्गोऽपि चाप्सरसः ॥ ५८ ॥

अर्थ । असौ । सु पुरुष । स्वपरप्रतारकः । अपनपेहि अरु । औरहि डंढंकत हैं । अरु । अलीकपंडितः । वह पुरुष मिथ्या पंडितु है । यः । जु पुरुष । युवती निंदति । तरुणीहि निंदतु है । यस्मात् । यातें । तपसोऽपि फलं । तपस्या हू को फलु । स्वर्गः । स्वर्गु है । अरु । स्वर्गोऽपि चाप्सरसः । स्वर्ग की अप्सरां फुनि हैं । तातें जु पंडितु स्त्री की निंदा करि तपस्या को आदर करतु है सु इकु अपनु स्त्री बिनु होतु है अरु औरहि स्त्री पर हू अनरुचि उपजावत हैं तातें अपनपेहि अरु औरहि डंढंकतु है । अरु तपस्या हू को जु कौनऊ उत्तम फलु है सु स्त्री ये है ।

श्लो० । विश्रम्य विश्रम्य वनद्रुमाणां छायासु तन्वी विचचार काचित् । स्तनोत्तरीयेण करोद्धृतेन निवारयंतौ शशिनी मयूखान् ॥ ५९ ॥

अर्थ । काचित् तन्वी । कोऊ एक तरुणी । वनद्रुमाणां छायासु । वन के बृक्षनि की छांह । विश्रम्य विश्रम्य । विश्रामु करि करि । विचचार । इत उत चलत फिरति भई । कैसी वह तरुणी । करोद्धृतेन स्तनोत्तरीयेण ।

अपने कर कमल करि उठाइ राखी जु स्तननि पर की अंचलु तिहि  
अंचल करि । शशिनी मयूखान् । चंद्रमा के किरननि बचावति है ।  
कितो यह बिरहिनी नाइका है । याही तें चंद्रमा के किरण दुसह लगत  
हैं । सु अंचल वोट दै करि चंद्रमा के किरणनि अंग सौं लगन नाही देति ।  
किंवा यह अभिसारिका है । याही तें चंद्रमा के किरण जब अंग सौं  
लगत हैं तब सकुचति हैं कि मोहि कीज देषि जनि तातें चंद्रमा के किरण  
औभिल करि राषति है ॥

श्लो० । अदर्शने दर्शनमात्रकामा दृष्टे परिष्वंगरसैकलोला ॥ आलिंगि-  
तायां पुनरायताद्यामाशास्त्रहे विग्रहयोरभेदं ॥ ६० ॥

अर्थ । अदर्शने सति । जौलौ हम तरुणीहि नेत्र नाहीं देषत  
तौलौ । वयं दर्शनमात्रकामाः । हमारे तरुणी के दरसन की कामना रहिबो  
करति है । कि भाई तरुणी कबहि नेत्रनि देषिबो । अरु । दृष्टे सति ।  
जब स्त्रीहि हम नेत्रनि देषत हैं तब । वयं परिष्वंगरसैकलोलाः । तरुणी  
के आलिंगन संबंधी सुषु पादुबे कहूं हम अति चंचल होत हैं । कि भाई  
यह स्त्री कब आलिंगिबो । अरु । आयताद्यां । अवण प्रयंत लौ दीर्घ हैं  
नेत्र जाके औसी जु वह तरुणी ताहि । आलिंगितायां । आलिंगित संते ।  
वयं । हम । विग्रहयोः । अपने शरीर के अरु स्त्री के शरीर के । अभेदं ।  
अभेदहि । आशास्त्रहे । बांछत है । कि भाई हमारी अरु स्त्री की  
शरीर कैसें हूं एकुवै हूँ जाइ ॥

श्लो० । उरसि निपतितानां स्रस्तधम्मिल्लकानां मुकुलितनयनानां  
किंचिदुन्मीलितानां ॥ सुरतजनितखेदस्विन्नगंडस्थलीनामधरमधु वधूनां  
भाग्यवंतः पिबन्ति ॥ ६१ ॥

अर्थ । भाग्यवंतः जि भाग्यवंत पुरुष हैं ति । वधूनां अधर मधु ।  
औसी स्त्री के अधरामृतहि । उरसि निपतितानां । विपरीत सुरत करत  
जु अमु होतु है ताते भर्ता के बहस्थल पर परि रहति है । अरु ।  
स्रस्तधम्मिल्लकानां । स्रस्त कहेंते छूटि गए हैं धम्मिल्ल कहेंते केस जिनि के  
औसी हैं । बहुरि विपरीत सुरत विषे भर्ता के उर पर कैसें हूँ परति है ।  
मुकुलितनयनानां । मुकुलित कहेंते मूंदे हैं नयन जिनके औसी हैं ।  
बहुरि कैसें हैं वे स्त्री । किंचिदुन्मीलितानां । विपरीत सुरत अम तें बार  
बार उसास लेति है तात । किंचित् । कछुकु । उन्मीलितानां । अरु  
फूलि फूलि आवतु है अंगु जिनि की औसी है । बहुरि कैसें हैं वे स्त्री ।

विपरीते सुरत विषे जनित कहेंते भयौ है सर्वांग विषे प्रखेदु तिहि ते  
प्रखेदु बिंदुनि करि । खिन्न कहेंते लसत हैं गंडस्थल जिनि के त्रैसो वे  
स्त्री तिनि के अधरामृतहि जि पुरुष पौवत है ति पुरुष भाग्यवंत हैं ॥

श्लो० । शिखिनि कूजति गर्जति तोयदे स्फुटति चारुलता-  
कुसुमांकुरे । अहह पांथ न जीवति सा प्रिया नभसि मासि न यासि गृहं  
यदि ॥ ६२ ॥

अर्थ । कोऊ पथिक सों कहतु है । अहह । भाई बडौ दुषु आनि  
भयौ है । हे पांथ । अरे पथिक । शिखिनि कूजति सति । चतुर्दिशां  
मयूर बोलत हैं । अरु तोयदे गर्जति सति । चतुर्दिशां मेघ गर्जत हैं ।  
अरु चारु कहेंते मनोहर जु ए लता तिनि विषे मनि की समूह । स्फुटति ।  
विकसतु है । ताते नभसि मासि । या सावन मास विषे । यदि । जी । गृहं  
न यासि । तूं अपने घर न जै है तो । सा प्रिया । वह प्राणप्रिया । न जीवति ।  
न जीहै ॥

श्लो० । किं गतेन यदि सा न जीवति प्राणिति प्रियतमा तथापि  
किं ॥ इत्युदीदय नवमेघमालिकां न प्रयाति पथिकः स्वमंदिरं ॥ ६३ ॥

अर्थ । पथिकः । कोऊ एकु । नवमेघमालिकां । आसाढ़ मास  
के पहिलेई मेघनि की मालाहि । उदीदय । जंचे नेत्रनि देषिकै ।  
इति । यह बात बिचारिकै । स्वमंदिरं । अपने घर । न प्रयाति । न जाहीं  
जातु । कौन बात बिचारिकै घर नाहीं जातु सोई कहिजति है ।  
भाई यह पहिलेही मेघ माला देषि कै । यदि । जी । सा प्रियतमा । वह  
प्राण प्रिया न जीवति । न जीवति होइ तो । किं गतेन । मेरे गये कोनु  
कार्य है । ता ते हो काहे कहूं जाऊं । अरु । यह मेघ माला देषत  
वह प्राणप्रिया जी प्राणिति । जीवति है । तथापि । तऊ । किं गतेन ।  
काहे कहूं जाऊं । यह मेघ माला जी देषत भर्ता के विरह जा स्त्री की  
प्राण नाहीं छूटतु ता स्त्री के घर कहा जैजतु है । ए दोऊ बातें बिचारिकै  
कोऊ पथिकु घर नाहीं जातु ॥

श्लो० । प्राग्मा मेति मनागनागतसुखं जाताभिलाषं ततः सत्रीडं  
तदनु श्लोद्यममय प्रत्यस्तधैर्यं पुनः ॥ प्रेमार्द्रस्पृहणीयनिर्भररसक्रीडा-  
प्रगल्भं ततो निः संगंगविकर्षणाधिकसुखं श्लेतकुलस्त्रीरतं ॥ ६४ ॥

अर्थ । एतत् । या प्रकार की । कुलस्त्रीरतं । कुलीन स्त्री की  
सुरत । कौन प्रकार की है सु कहिजतु है । प्राक् । सुरत के आरंभहीं ।



मा मा । कुलस्त्री बार बार नाहीं करति है । इति । ए निषेध वचन सुनि करि । मनाकु अनागतसुखं । कछू तादृश सुषु नाहीं उपजतु । ता पाछें । जाताभिलाषं । कुलस्त्री के सुरत कीबे कछु अभिलाष होतु है । ततः । ता पाछें । सत्रौडं । कुलस्त्री के लाज होति है । तदनु । तापाछें । श्लयोद्यमं । सुरत करिबे के पहिले उद्यम सब ढोले परत हैं । अथ । ता पाछें । प्रत्यस्तधैर्यं । कुलस्त्री की लाज जाति है । पुनः ता पाछें । प्रेमार्द्र कहेंतें प्रेम सहित अरु स्पृहा कीजै त्रैसी जु निर्भर कहेंतें अति बहुत सुषता सहित निर्दय क्रीडा होति है । तापाछें । सुरत कं अंत अंगनि माझ तें अंगनि काढत अधिकु सुषु होतु है सु कुलस्त्री कौ सुरतु त्रैसी है ॥

श्लो० । तावदेवामृतमयी यावलोचनगोचरे ॥ चक्षुः पथादपेता स्त्री विषादप्यतिरिच्यते ॥ ६५ ॥

अर्थ । तावदेव । तीहीलौ स्त्री अमृतमय लगति हैं । यावत् । जीलौ । लोचनगोचरे । नेत्रनि के आगें रहिबौ करै । चक्षुः पथात् अपेता । जबही नेत्रनि वोभिल होति है तब हीं । विषादपि । विष हूं तें । अतिरिच्यते । अति अधिक होति है । याको यह तात्पर्यु । जीलौ स्त्री नेत्रनि आगें रहति है तीलौ अपनों दरसनु दै त्रैसी सुषु देति है जु स्त्री अमृतमय लागति है । अरु । जबही नेत्रनि के वोभिल होति है तबहीं । अनदेखी कौ त्रैसी दुषु देति हैं जु विष हूं ते अधिकु ॥

श्लो० । न गम्यो मंत्राणां न च भवति भैषज्यविषयो न चापि प्रध्वंसं व्रजति विविधैः शान्तिकशतैः ॥ अमाविशादंगे किमपि विदधङ्गमसमं क्षरापक्षारोयं भ्रमयति दृशं घूर्णयति च ॥ ६६ ॥

अर्थ । अयं क्षरापक्षारः । यह जु है क्षर कासु सोई जु भयौ अपक्षार बायु सु । रात्रि दिनु । भ्रमयति । चित्तहि अमावतु रहतु है । अरु । दृशं । नेत्रनि । घूर्णयति च । घुमावतु रहतु है । काम के आवेस तें अरु अपक्षार बायु तें फुनि चित्तु भ्रमतु रहतु है । अरु नेत्र घूमत रहत हैं यह सब कोज जानतु है । है कीसी यह कासु अपक्षार । मंत्राणां गम्यो न । काहूं जंत्र मंत्र तें दूरि न होई । नच । न फुनि । भैषज्यविषयः । काहू और औषध तें दूरि न होइ । न चापि । अरु । न फुनि । विविधैः शान्तिकशतैः । शान्त कीबे के अनेक उपाइन करि प्रध्वंसं न व्रजति । नाशहि नाहीं प्राप्त होतु । बहुरि कीसी है कांसु अरु अपक्षार बायु । अमाविशात । चित्त जु अति ही भ्रमतु रहतु है । सु ता त ।

अंगे । अंगनि विषे । किमपि । कछु । भंगं विदधत् । भंगहि करावतु रहतु है । भंगु कहावै औडाई आदबी । आंगु तोरिबी । सु इतने ए सब बातें काम के आवेश ते होति हैं । अरु अपस्मार बायु हू ते होति हैं ॥

श्लो० । नूनमाशाकरस्तस्याः सुभ्रुवो मकरध्वजः ॥ यतस्तन्नेत्रसंचार-  
सुचितेन प्रवर्तते ॥ ६७ ॥

अर्थ । भर्तृहरि कहत है कि देषहु । नूनं । यह हम निहचें करि जानत हैं जु मकरध्वजः । कामदेउ । तस्याः । सुभ्रुवः । सुभ्रू जु हैं स्त्री तिनि को । आशाकरः । आशाकारी है । आशाकारी जानिजै काहें ते । यतः । जातैं कामदेउ । ता तरुणीनि के नेत्रनि को जु संचार कहेंते चलि-  
बी ताको जु सूचिबी तिहि करि प्रवर्ततु है । याको यह भाउ । तरुणी जा तन कटाक्ष करि चितवति है ताहि व्यापिबे कहुं कामु तई होतु है । तातें यह जानिजति है जु मकरध्वजु तरुणीनि को आशाकारी है । औरज जु जाको आशाकारी होतु है सु ताके नेत्रनि हों चलतु है ॥

श्लो० । सति प्रदीपे सत्यर्क्षे सत्सु तारामणींदुषु ॥ विना मे मृग-  
शावाद्या तमोभूतमिदं जगत् ॥ ६८ ॥

अर्थ । पदीपे सति । यद्यपि दीपु विद्यमान है । अरु अर्क्षे सति । यद्यपि सूर्य विद्यमान है । अरु सत्सु तारामणींदुषु । यद्यपि तारा कहेंते बडे बडे नक्षत्र अरु बडी बडी मणि विद्यमान है । अरु इंदु जु है चन्द्रमां सोऊ यद्यपि विद्यमान हैं । तथापि । मृगशावाद्या विना । मृगशावलीचनी बिनु । इदं जगत् । यह संपूर्ण जगत् । मे तमोभूतं । मेरे भायें अंधकारमय है ॥

श्लो० । गुरुणा स्तनभारेण मुखचंद्रेण भास्वता ॥ शनैश्चराभ्यां  
पादाभ्यां रेजे ग्रहमयीव सा ॥ ६९ ॥

अर्थ । अब भर्तृहरि शब्द कुल करि स्त्री के अंगनि ग्रह रूप करि वर्णत हैं । सा । तरुणी स्त्री । इतने अंगनि करि । ग्रहमयी इव रेजे । ग्रहनि करि संयुक्त है मानहुं । इहि प्रकार विराजति भई । कौन कौन अंगनि करि विराजति भई ति कहिजत हैं । गुरुणा स्तनभारेण । गुरु कहेंते अति बडे स्तन भार करि राजति भई । गुरु कहावै बडी । अरु गुरु कहावै बृहस्पति । अरु । भास्वता मुखचंद्रेण । अति दैदीप्यमान जु मुख चंद्रु तिहि करि राजति भई । अरु । शनैश्चराभ्यां पादाभ्यां । शनेः मंद मंद । चरतः । जे चलत हैं ते कहावै शनैचर औसे चरणनि करि विराजति भई ॥

श्लो० । मुखेन चंद्रकांतेन महानीलैः शिरोरुहैः ॥ पाणिभ्यां पद्मरागाभ्यां रेजे मणिमयीव सा ॥ ७० ॥

अर्थ । अब भर्तृहरि स्त्री के अंगनि मणिमय करि वर्णत है । सा । तरुणी स्त्री । इतने अंगनि करि मणिमयो द्व रेजे । मणिनि जटित है मानहुं । इहि प्रकार विराजति भई । कौन कौन अंगनि करि विराजति भई । अरु कौनु कौनु अंगु कौन कौन मणिमय है सु यहै कहिजतु है । चंद्रकांतेन मुखेन रेजे । चंद्र समान है कांत कहें अति सुंदर मुषु तिहिं करि तरुणी विराजति भई । अरु चंद्रकांत सम एक मणि होति है । जु चंद्रमा के किरण लगत ही जलहि अवति है । अरु महानीलैः शिरोरुहैः । महानील वर्ण जु शिरोरुह कहें केश तिनि करि तरुणी राजति भई । अरु महानील नामु नीलमणि की है । अरु पद्मरागाभ्यां पाणिभ्यां । पद्मनि कैसी है रागु कहें आरक्तता जिनि की ति कहावै पद्मराग । ऐसे पाणिनि करि तरुणी राजति भई । अरु पद्मराग नाम मणि होति है ॥

श्लो० । असितात्मा समुन्नद्धः समाविः कृतचापलः ॥ भुजंगकुटिलस्तस्या भ्रूविक्षेपः खलायते ॥ ७१ ॥

अर्थ । तस्याः । तरुणी स्त्रीके । भ्रूविक्षेपः । भ्रूभंगु । खलायते । दुष्ट जन कीसी नाई आचरतु है । जु गति दुष्ट की सोई गति तरुणीनि की भौहनि की । सोई कहिजतु है । भ्रूभंगु कैसी है । असितात्मा । असित कहावै अंतर्मलिनी । बहुरि भ्रूभंगु कैसी है । समुन्नद्धः । जंचौई चढ्यो रहतु है । अरु अंतर मलिनी दुष्ट होतु व है । कहा गुन करि जंचौ नाहीं भी रहतु है जंचौ । बहुरि तरुणी की भ्रूभंगु कैसी है । समाविः कृतचापलः । बार बार अपनी चंचलता प्रगटतु है । दुष्ट फुनि अति चंचल होतु है । बहुरि तरुणी की भ्रूभंगु कैसी है । भुजंगकुटिलः । सर्प की सी नाई बक्रु है । अरु । दुष्ट फुनि भुजंग समान कुटिल होतु है । ताते तरुणी की भ्रूभंगु दुष्टमय है ॥

श्लो० । मुग्धे धानुष्कता केयमपूर्वा तव दृश्यते ॥ यतो विध्यसि चेतांसि गुणैरेव न सायकैः ॥ ७२ ॥

अर्थ । हे मुग्धे । तव इयं धानुष्कता । तेरी यह धानुष्कता । अपूर्वा दृश्यते । अलौकिक देषियति है । यतः । जा ते । चेतांसि । पराये मननि । गुणैरेव विध्यसि । अपने गुननिही करि बेधति है । न सायकैः । बाणनि

ही करि नाहीं बेधति । गुनु जिह हू की नाऊ है । सु आरु धनुषु ती  
सायक करि बेधतु है । गुण करि कीऊ कहं नाहीं बेधितु । सु तूं  
गुणनिहीं करि ती बेधति है बान करि नाहीं बेधति । याही तेरी  
धनुषता अधिक है ॥

श्लो० । एको रागिषु राजते प्रियतमादेहाङ्गधारी हरो नीरागेषु जिनी  
विमुक्तललनासंगी न यस्यापरः ॥ दुर्वारस्तरबाणपन्नगविषव्यासंगमुक्तो जनः  
शेषः कामविडम्बितो न विषयान् भोक्तुं न मोक्तुं क्षमः ॥ ७३ ॥

अर्थ । रागिषु । कामी पुरुषनि मध्य । एको हरो राजते । अकेले  
महादेउ सर्वोपर बिराजत हैं । कामीनि मध्य कीऊ महादेव सी कामी  
नाहीं । यातें । प्रियतमादेहाङ्गधारी । अपनी स्त्री अर्धांग करी है । असे  
कामी हैं । अरु नीरागेषु । निहकामी पुरुषनि मध्य अकेलीई जिनः ।  
जैनधर्म की चलाउनहारु जिननाम आचार्यु सर्वोपरि बिराजतु है ।  
उचितें कीऊ अधिकु निहकामी नाहीं । जातें विमुक्तललनासंग ।  
विमुक्त कहेंतें निपट करि छांछ्यो है ललना स्त्रीनि की संगु जिहि  
असी है । यस्य अपरो न । जा जिन आचार्य के काहू औरही बात की  
संगु नाहीं । शेषः । और जु बीचही विच की है सु । विषयान् भोक्तुं न  
क्षमः । न विषयनि भोगईवे कौ समर्थ आहि । अरु न मोक्तुं क्षमः । न  
विषय साधिवे कौ समर्थ आहि । जातें । दुर्वार कहेंतें अति दुसह जु स्तर  
के बाण तेई जु भए पन्नग सर्प तिनके विष की जु व्यासंगु कहा लगिबी  
तिहि तें मुक्त कहेंतें छूट्यो जु है । याकी यह तात्पर्यु । और इनहि  
छाड़िके जु कीऊ तीसरी है ताहि काम बाणनि की बिषु थोरीई जु लग्यो  
है सु तातें न नीकें करि बिषय भोगु कीनों जाइ अरु न नीकें त्यागीई  
जात आहि ॥

श्लो० । इदमनुचितमक्रमश्च पुंसां यदिह जरास्वपि मान्मथो विकारः ॥  
यदपि च न कृतं नितम्बिनीनां स्तनपतनावधि जीवितं रतं वा ॥ ७४ ॥

अर्थ । इदं अनुचितं । यह विधाता बडो अनुचित कीनों हैं । अरु ।  
अक्रमश्च । विधाता यह कछू क्रमु नाही कीनों । यत् । जु । इह ।  
या लोक विषें । पुंसां । पुरुषनि कें । जरास्वपि । जरावस्था ह विषें ।  
मान्मथी विकारः । काम संबंधी विकार होतु है । याकी यह अथ ।  
पुरुषनि के बृद्धावस्था ह विषें जु काम संबंधी विकार उपजतु है सु विधाता  
यह बडो अनुचित कीनों यह अनुगत की है । अरु यह कछू क्रमु न

कीनों। अरु यदपिच । जु फुनि । नितंबिनीनां । स्त्रीनि की । जीवितं वा ।  
जीवनु किंवा सुरतु । स्तनपतनावधि न कृतं । स्तन पतनही लौं न कीनी  
सु यह विधाता भली न कीन्ही । ना तर स्त्रीनि की जीबी अरु सुरतु  
कीबी तोही लौं नौकी जौलीं स्तननि की पातु न होइ ॥

श्लो० । ज्यादौर्घ्वा चलेन वक्रगतिना तेजस्विना भोगिना  
नीलाब्जद्युतिना तथा वरमहो दष्टोपि संजीवति ॥ दष्टे संति चिकित्सका  
दिशि दिशि प्रायेण धर्मार्थिनो मुग्धाक्षीक्षणवीक्षितस्य नहि मे वैद्यो न  
चाप्यौषधं ॥ ७५ ॥

अर्थ । भट्टहरि कहत हैं कि देषहु । भोगिना दष्टः । ऐसे सर्प की  
पायी मनुष्य । संजीवति । जीवतु है । मंत्रबल तें किंवा वैद्य के बल तें  
किंवा वोषध के बलते जीवतु है । कैसे सर्प की पायी । ज्यादौर्घ्वा ।  
कमठा की जिह समान दीर्घ है । फुनि कैसी है सर्पु । चलेन । चंचलु है ।  
अरु वक्रगतिना । वक्र है गमनु जा की औसी है । फुनि कैसी है सर्पु ।  
तेजस्विना । मन्हा तेजस्वी है । अरु नीलाब्जद्युतिना । नील कमल समान  
हृष्टा वर्ण है । औसेही सर्प की पायी जीवतु है । जा तें । दिशि दिशि ।  
चौहूं कोद । प्रायेण । अति बहुत । धर्मार्थिनः । परम धर्मात्मा । दष्टे  
चिकित्सकाः संति । सर्प कै पाए कहूं भले भले वैद्य हैं । ते जिवाइ लेत  
हैं । पै । मुग्ध कहेंतें सुंदर हैं अक्षि नेत्र जाके औसी जु परम सुंदर स्त्री  
तिहि कटाक्ष करि अवलोक्यो जु हो ता मोकहुं । न बैद्यु न वोषधु ॥

श्लो० । विरहेपि संगमः खलु परस्परं संगतं मनो येषां ॥ हृदय-  
मतिविषटितं विरहः किल संगमे तेषां ॥ ७६ ॥

अर्थ । येषां मनः । जिनि स्त्री पुरुषनि की मनु । परस्परं संगतं ।  
परस्पर मिल्योई रहतु है । तेषां । तिनि स्त्री पुरुषनि कहूं । विरहेपि  
संगमः । वियोग हू विषे संगसु जानिबी । अरु येषां हृदयं । जिनि स्त्री  
पुरुषनि की मनु । अति विषटितं । भिन्न भिन्न भयो रहतु है । तेषां । तिनि  
स्त्री पुरुषनि कहूं । संगमेपि विरहः । एकत्र हू रहत विरहूं जानिबी ॥

श्लो० । अपसर सखे दूरादक्षत्कटाक्षविषानलात्प्रकृतिविषमाद्योषि-  
त्सर्पाहिलासफणाभृतः ॥ इतरफणिना दष्टः शक्यश्चिकित्सितुंमौषधैश्चदुल-  
वनिताभोगिग्रस्तं त्यजंति हि मंत्रिणः ॥ ७७ ॥

अर्थ । भट्टहरि काहूं आपनें हितूहि उपदेशत हैं । हे सखे । अरे  
सखा । अक्षात् योषित्सर्पात् । या स्त्री सर्प तें । दूरात् अपसर । अति

दूरि उसरि भागु । निकट जनि रहै । है कैसी यह स्त्री सर्पु । कटाक्ष विषानखात् । कटाक्ष हैं विष संबंधी अग्नि जा विषें असी है । फुनि कैसी है । स्त्री सर्पु । प्रकृतिविषमात् । सुभाव हो तें अति विषमु है । फुनि कैसी है स्त्री सर्पु । विलासफणाभृतः । विलासै जु फणु ताहि धरै है । असी स्त्री सर्प तें डरपत रहिजै । अरु देषें तें दूरिहूं ते भगिजै । इतरफणिना दष्टः । और सर्प को पायौ तो । औषधैश्चिकित्सतुं शक्यः । औषधनि करि मंत्रणि करि ज्यादा लीजतु है । पै । चटलवनिताभोगिग्रस्तं । चंचल स्त्री जु भोगी कहेंतें सर्पु तिहि करि ग्रस्यौ जु कामी पुरुष ताहि । मंत्रिणः । जंत्र मंत्रके जाननहारज असाध्य जानि करि । त्यजंति । छांडि देत है ॥

श्लो० । तस्याः स्तनौ यदि घनी नयनं च चारु वक्त्रं च हारि यदि चित्त किमाकुलत्वं ॥ पुण्यं कुरुष्व यदि तेषु तवास्ति वांछा पुण्यैर्विना नहि भवन्ति समीहितार्थाः ॥ ७८ ॥

अर्थ । भट्टहरि अपने मित्त सौ कहत हैं । अरे मित्त । तस्याः स्तनौ । स्त्री के स्तन । यदि घनी । जो कठोर हैं अरु जंनत है । अरु । नयनं च चारु । नेत्र जो अति चारु हैं । अरु । वक्त्रं च हारि । मुषु जो अति मनोहर है तो । त्वं किं आकुलं । तू बेहो कामहि काहे को चंचल होतु है । यदि । जो । तेषु । इतनीनि को भोगु कीबे कहूं । तव । तेरे । वांछा अस्ति । मनोरथु है । तो पुण्यं कुरुष्व । पुण्यहि कर । पुण्यैर्विना । बिनु पुण्यनि । समीहितार्थाः । बांछित वस्तु । न भवन्ति । नाहीं होति । पुण्यही तें बांछी वस्तु सिद्ध होति है ॥

श्लो० । पांथस्त्रीविरहानलाहुतिकलामातन्वतो मंजरी माकंदेषु पिकांगनाभिरधुना सौत्कंठमालोक्यते ॥ अर्धिते नवपाटलापरिमल-प्राग्भारपाटच्चरा वांति क्वांतिवितानतानवभृतःश्रीखंडशैलानिलाः ॥ ७९ ॥

अर्थ । अब भट्टहरि वसंत रितु वर्नत हैं । अधुना । या वसंत रितु विषें । पिकांगनाभिः । कोविलानि करि । माकंदेषु मंजरी । पलास बृक्ष के फूलनि की मंजरी । सौत्कंठं । उत्कंठा सहित । आलोक्यते । अवलोकिति है । याको यह अर्थ कि । वसंत रितु विषें कोकिला पलास बृक्षके फूलनि की मंजरीहि आनंद पूर्वक अवलोकति है । कैसी है पलास बृक्षनि की मंजरी । पांथ जु हैं पथिक जन तिनकी जु स्त्री तिनि स्त्रीनि की जु विरह अनल मांझ आहुति कहा हैं । मिबो ताकी जु कहा कहा ज्वाला ताहि ।

आतन्वती । प्रगट करति है । याकी यह अर्थ । यह पलास वृक्ष के फूलनि की मंजरी न होई मानहुं किंतु कामदेव विरहाग्नि मध्य पथिकनि की स्त्री जु होमी हैं सुता होम अग्नि की ज्वाला आहि मानहुं । अपि । अरु । एते श्रीखंड शैलानिलाः । श्रीखंश जु है चंदनु ता की जु स्थानु शैलु कहा मलय पर्वतु ता के जु अनिल बायु ते । वांति । या वसंत रितु विषे एई बहत हैं । है कैसे ए मलयाचल संबंधी बायु । नव कहेंतें तबही के फूल जु पाटल कहेंतें पांडर के फूल तिनि की जु अति परिमलु ताकी प्राग्भाक् कहा समूह ता समूह के । पाटञ्चराः । चोर हैं । याकी यह अर्थ ॥ मलयाचल के चंदन की जु सौरभु ताहि चोरि लैकरि तब ए अनिल चले हैं ॥

श्लो० । इतो विद्युदल्लीविलसितमितः केतकतरोः स्फुरद्गंधं प्रोद्यज्ज्वलदनलवत्स्फुर्जितमितः ॥ इतः केकिक्रीडाकलकलमितः पद्मल-  
दृशां कथं यास्यंत्येते विरहदिवसाः संभृतरसाः ॥ ८० ॥

अर्थ । अब भट्टहरि बरषा रितु वर्णत हैं । इतः । एक दिशा तन । विद्युदल्लीविलसितं । विद्युत जु है बिजुरी सोई जु भई बल्ली कहा लता ता के बिलास देषिजत हैं । अरु इतः । एक दिशा तन । केतकतरोः । सुवर्ण बर्न के बरे के । स्फूर्जितं । फूलनि की बिलास देषिजतु है । कैसे हैं पीतके बरे की फूल । स्फुरद्गंधं । स्फुरत् कहा अति उग्र चलतु है गंधु जाकी त्रैसी है । फुनि कौसी है पीत के बरे की फूल । प्रोद्यज्ज्वलदनलवत् । प्रोद्यत् कहा ऊंची उठ्यो अरु ज्वलतु कहा प्रज्वलित भयो त्रैसी अनलु आहि मानहुं ॥

श्लो० । इमे तारुण्यश्रीनवपरिमलाः प्रौढसुरतप्रतापप्रारंभाः स्मर-  
विजयदानप्रतिमुवः ॥ चिरं चैतश्चौरा अभिनवविकारैकगुरवो विलास-  
व्यापाराः किमपि विजयंते मृगदृशां ॥ ८१ ॥

अर्थ । मृगदृशां । मृगास्त्रीनि के । इमे तारुण्यश्रीनवपरिमलाः । भरु यौवन विषे क्रीडा करत अंगनि सौ अंग मर्दत अंगनिही के नवीन परिमल । विजयंते । सबही सुगंधनि पर बिराजत हैं । आलिंगनु करत किंवा सुरत समय विषे अंग मर्दनु करत स्त्री के अंगनि तें सुभावही की जु गंधु जु चलतु है सु परिमलु कहावतु है । यह अमरकोष मध्य कही है । विमर्दोत्थे परिमली गंधे जनमनोहरे । याकी यह अर्थ । मर्दनु करत स्त्रीके अंगनि तें जु उठतु है अति मनोहर गंधु ता विषे परिमल शब्द वर्ततु है । वह परिमलु भाव काव्यहु मध्य बरन्यो है ॥

श्लो० । नखविलिखितमंगं गोपयस्यंशुकेन स्थगयसि सुहृदोष्ठं  
पाणिना दंतदष्टं ॥ प्रतिदिशमंपरस्त्रीसंगशंसी विसर्प्यन्नवपरिमलगंधः-  
केन शक्यो वरीतुं ॥ १ ॥

अर्थ । काहू नाइका सौ अवधि बढिकै औरही नाइका सौ संपूर्ण  
रान्नि गंवाइ कै तब प्रभात समय विषे वा नाइका के घर आयौ । तब वह  
षंडिता नाइका के अंग विषे नषच्छत देखिकै अधरनि मध्य दंतच्छत देखिकै  
तब नाइका सौ कहति है । अहो धूर्त शिरोमनि । नखविलिखितं अंगं ।  
काहू नाइकाके नषच्छतनि लिखि राख्यौ है जु तुम्हारी यह अंगु ताहि  
तौव तुम । अंशुकेन गोपयसि । बख माझ दुकायौ । अरु दंत दष्टं वोष्टं ।  
काहू नाइका के दन्तच्छत लगे हैं जा विषे असौ जु तुम्हारी यह वोष्ठ  
ताहि । सुहुः । बार बार । पाणिना । अपने हाथ करि । स्थगयसि ।  
दुकावतहौं । सु नषच्छत तौ तुम बख तर दुकावत हो । अरु । वोष्ठ मध्य के  
दंतच्छतनि हूं तौ तुम अपने हाथके वोभिल दुकावत हो । सु यह  
चातुरी तौव तुम कीनौ । कहौ धौ । नवपरिमलगंधः । वा नाइका के  
अंगनि की सुभावही की तुम्हारे अंगनि ते चलतु जु है यह नव परिमल  
गंधु । सु । वरीतुं केन शक्यः । कीन पछं दुकायौ जातु है । यह परिमल  
कैसी है । प्रति दिशं विसर्प्यन् । चौहूं कोद तरंगनि सौ चलतु है सु ।  
अपरस्त्रीसंगशंसी । और नाइका सौ जु तुम संगु कीनौ है ताहि  
प्रगटहौं कहैं देतु है ॥

श्लो० । आवासः किलकिंचितस्य दयिताः पार्श्वे विलासालसाः कर्णे  
कीकिलकामिनीकलरवःखेरो लतामंडपः ॥ गोष्ठी सत्कविभिः समं कतिपयैः  
सेव्याः हिमांशोः कराः केषांचित्सुखयन्ति हंत हृदयं चैत्रे विचित्राः  
स्रजः ॥ २ ॥

अर्थ । पार्श्वे । आस पास । विलासालसाः । विलासनि की करन-  
हार्ये । अरु । किलकिंचितस्य आवासः । किलकिंचित नाम हाव को घर  
तरुणी । अरु । कर्णे । कान विषे । कीकिलकामिनीकलरवः । कीकिलानि  
की मधुर धुनि । अरु । खेरो लतामंडपः । फूली लतानि की मंडपु । अरु ।  
कतिपयैः सत्कविभिः समं । कितेकज सत्कविनि सौ । गोष्ठी । अरु । सेव्या  
हिमांशोः कराः । परम सीतल चंद्रमा के किरन । दूतनी बातें । चैत्रे । चैत्र  
मास विषे । केषांचित् हृदयं । काहू सुझती पुरुषनिके हृदयहि । सुखयन्ति ।  
परम सुपहि देति हैं । अरु । विचित्राः स्रजः । अति विचित्र फूलनिकी माला



फुनि चैत्र मास त्रिपे परम सुषु देति है ॥ किलकिंचित नाम हाव की लक्षण  
शृंगार दीपिका मध्य कक्षी है ॥

श्लो० । शुष्कं क्षणं परुषितं क्षणमश्रुपातः क्रोधो मुहुर्विहसितं  
मुहुराप्तगीतं ॥ व्यामिश्ररूपमिति हर्षवशात्प्रयुक्तमुक्तं बुधैःश्रुतिधनैः किल-  
किंचिताख्य ॥ १ ॥

अर्थ । क्षण । क्षण एक । शुष्क । बिनही कारणहि । परुषितं ।  
नाइक सों कछु बचन बोलिबौ । अरु क्षण । क्षण एक । तुम मेरे प्राणनाथ हो  
हो तुम्हारी दासी हो । सु इहि प्रकार । काचित् अबला । कीऊ अबला ।  
कस्यापि पुण्यकृतः । काहू पुण्यकर्ता मनुष्य के । अंतिकस्या । निकट बैठी ।  
किल किंचित हाव । किलकिंचित नाम हावहि । विभावति । करति है ॥

श्लो० । सुधाशुभ्रं धाम स्फुरदमलरश्मिः शशधरः प्रियावक्त्रांभोजं  
मलयजरजसातिसुरभि ॥ स्रजो हृद्यामोदास्तदिदमखिलं रागिणि जने  
करोत्यंतःक्षोभं नतु विषयसंसर्गविमुखे ॥ ८३ ॥

अर्थ । सुधा जु कली चूनी ता समान सुभ्र कहेंतें अति श्वेत धाम ।  
अरु । स्फुरत् कहेंतें परम दैदीप्यमान अमल है रश्मि कहा किरण  
जा के सैसी शशधर । अरु । प्रिया जु है स्त्री ताकी जु परम सुंदर सुषु  
कमल । अरु अति सुरभि मलयजरजः । अति सुगंधु चंदनु । अरु  
हृद्यामोदः । अति मनोहर है आमोदु कहेंतें सुगंधु जिनि की सैसी ।  
स्रजः । फूलनि की माला । तत् इदं अखिलं । इतनी सब दातैं । रागिणि  
जने । कामी जन त्रिपे । अंतःक्षोभं । मन के बिकारहि । करोति ।  
करति है । नतु विषय अश्रुपातः । आंसूनि रोदवी । अरु । क्षणं क्रोधः ।  
क्षण एक झूठे हो क्रोधू करिबौ । अरु मुहुर्विहसितं । बार बार बिहसिबौ ।  
अरु । मुहु । आप्तगीतं । बार बार गानु कीबौ । इहि प्रकार । हर्ष-  
वशात् । अति आनंद तें । प्रयुक्तं । नाइकहि प्रति नाइका की जु ।  
व्यामिश्रितरूपं । यह मिश्रित आचरण । सु बुधैः । पंडितनि । किल-  
किंचिताख्यं उक्तं । किलकिंचितु कक्षी है ॥

श्लो० । निवासः क्रियतां गांगे पापवारिणि वारिणि ॥ स्तनमध्ये  
तरुण्या वा मनोज्ञारिणि हारिणि ॥ ८४ ॥

अर्थ । कै तो । पापवारिणि गांगे वारिणि । सकल पापनि के  
दूर करनहार गंगा के जल के समीप । निवासः क्रियतां । निवास कीजै ।  
वा तरु । मनोज्ञारिणि हारिणि । हार करि अलंकृत परम मनोहर ।

तरुण्याः स्तनमध्ये । तरुणी के कठोर स्तननि मध्य निवास कीजै ।  
तीमरी निवास कबहुं न कीजै ॥

श्लो० । स्वपंतु सुरतश्रांतकांताकुचस्थलेपि वा ॥ गंगातरंगनि-  
धौतशीतले वा शिलातले ॥ ८५ ॥

अर्थ । भर्तृहरि लोगन सों कहत हैं । अर लोग ही के ती सुरत  
करि अमित जु कांत कहेतें परम सुंदरी कांता कहा स्त्रीनि के  
कुचस्थल ऊपर । स्वपंतु । सोवहु । किंवा । गंगा के तरंगनि करि  
निःशेष करि धौत महा धोई अति उज्ज्वल करें याहि अति शीतलु जु  
शिलातलु ता ऊपर सोवहु । तीसरें ठौर कहा सीदुजतु है ॥

श्लो० । असूचीसंचारे तमसि नभसि प्रौढजलदे ध्वनिप्राशं मन्ये  
पतति नितरां नीरनिचये ॥ इदं सौदामिन्याः कनककमनीयं विलसितं  
मुदं च स्नानिं च प्रथयति पथि स्वैरिसुदृशां ॥ ८६ ॥

अर्थ । असूचीसंचारे तमसि सति । नाहीं सूजिहू को संचार जा  
विषें अैसे अंधकार विषें । अरु । नभसि प्रौढजलदे सति । प्रौढ कहा  
अतिही जनए हैं जलद जा विषें अैसे आकासु भए संते । अरु । नीरनिचये ।  
आकासतें जल समूहहि । नितरां । अतिहीं । पतति सति । वर्षत संते ।  
सु कौन प्रकार बरषतु है । ध्वनिप्राशं मन्ये । अतिही गर्जतु है । अैसे  
भहं । कनककमनीयं । सुवर्ण के चमत्कार समान । सौदामिन्या  
विलसितं । सौदामिनि जु चमकिवी सु । पथि । पर पुरुष पहं चलें जात  
मारग मध्य । स्वैरिसुदृशां । लंपट स्त्रीनि कहुं । मुदं च स्नानिं च प्रथयति ।  
आनंद छूं करतु है । अरु । स्नानि हूं करतु है । या को यह तात्पर्यु ।  
अैसे अंधकार विषें मेषनि जंनए संतें दृष्टि होत संतें लंपट स्त्री जबही  
पर पुरुष पहं चलती हैं मारग मध्य बीजुरी चमकति है । तब चलबे  
कहुं नैक उच्यारी देषि सुषु होतु है । अरु कौज हमहिं देषे जनि यह  
जानिकी स्नान ह्वे जाति है ॥

श्लो० । केशाः सयमिनः श्रुतेरपि परं पारंगते लोचने चांतर्वक्त्रमपि  
स्वभावशुचिभिः कीर्णं द्विजानां गणैः ॥ मुक्तानां सतताधिवासरचिरं  
वक्षोजकुम्भदयं ह्रिवं तन्नि वपुः प्रशांतमपि ते रागं करोत्येव नः ॥ ८७ ॥

अर्थ । कौज चतुर नादकु शब्द छल करि नादकाहि हसादबे कहुं  
कहतु है । हे तन्नि । अरी तरुणी । तव एतदपुः । तेरी यह सरौर ।  
एवं प्रशांतमपि । यद्यपि अति शांतु है ॥ तज । रागं करोत्येव नः ।

हमारे विषय वासनाहि करतवे है। ना तरु जु अति शांत भयो सु विषय वासना कहाते करतु है। सु तेरो शरीर कौन प्रकार शांतु है सु भीरपह सुगु। केशाः संयमिनः। केश तेरे संयमी हैं। संयमी कहावे बेणी रुहि बांधे। यह तो मुख अर्थु। अरु संयमी कहाउतु है जु, संयम सों रहतु है। ताते संयम को रहिबो शांताको चीन्हो है। अरु ते लीचने। ए तेरे दोऊ लीचन। अतएपि परं पारंगते। अति जु हैं अवन तिनहुं के पारंगत भए हैं कहा अवन प्रजंत लो गए हैं। यह तो मुख अर्थु। अब अति शब्द को दुसरो अर्थु यह जानिबो जु अति कहावे बेदु ताके पारंगत ह्वो शांत ता को चीन्हो है। अरु अंतर्वक्त्र-मपि। तेरे मुख को मांझु। स्वभावशुचिभिः। स्वभावहीं तें निर्मल रहतु है। जैसें। दिजानां गणैः। दंतनि के समूह करि। कीर्णं। संयुक्त है। यह तो मुख अर्थु। अरु। दिज कहावत है ब्राह्मण यह दिज शब्द को दुसरो अर्थु। याही अर्थ विषे कलु। निर्मल सुभावंत ब्राह्मणनि सों जाबो संगति है। सु अवस्य शांतु है। अरु। तव वक्षोजकुंभदयं। तेरे ए देख स्तन कलस। मुक्तानां सतताधिवाससचिरं। मुक्ता जु हैं मोती तिनको तेरे स्तन कलशनि पर सर्वदा जु निवास है ताते ते स्तन कलश अति रुचिर हैं। यह तो मुख अर्थु। अब दूसरो अर्थु। मुक्ता कहावत है जु संसार ते छूटि हैं सु मुक्तानि को निवास जाके समीप होत है सु अवस्य शांतु है। सु इनि तिनहुं चीन्हनि ते तेरो वपु शांतु है। पै देषत हीं मेरे रागहि उपजावतु है सु यह बडो आश्चर्यु शांतु होइ सु राग कैसें करन बूझिषै। शांत तो कहावतु है राग देष रहितु ॥

श्री०। प्रायः प्रणयवतीनां तावत्पदमातनोति हृदि मानः। न भवति यावच्चंदनतरुसुरभिमलयपवमानः ॥ ८८ ॥

अर्थ। प्रायः। हम यह जानत हैं जु। प्रणयवतीनां हृदि। प्रेमवंत स्त्रीनि के हृदय विषे। मानु। तावदेव। तोही लो। पदं आत-नोति। अपनपे कहुं ठोरु करें रहतु है। यावत्। यौलहुं। चंदन तरु को स्पर्शसगहार परम सौरभहि लयें मलय पर्वत सम्बन्धी जु पवमान कहें तें वायु सु। न भवति। नाहीं होतु। जब मलयाचल को पवन चलतु है तबही मानिनीनि की मानु की जानें कहां जातु है।

श्री०। सहकारकसुमकेसरनिकरभरामीदमूर्धितदिगंते। मधुरमध-सुदितमधुपे मधो भवेत्काश्य-नोत्कांठा ॥ ८९ ॥

अर्थ । मधौ । बसंत रितु विषे । कस्य । कौन के । उत्कंठा न भवेत् । कौड़ा करिबे कहुं उत्कंठा न होइ । किंतु सबही के उत्कंठा होति है । कैसी है बसंत रितु । सहकार जु आम्र वृक्ष तिनि के कुसुमनि केसर तिनि कौ जु निकर समूहुं ता कौ जु आमोदु कहा सुगंध तिहिकरि मूर्छित कहेंतें परिपूरि राखि हैं दिशानि के अंत जिहिं कैसी बसंत रितु है । बहुरि कैसी है बसंत रितु । मधुर कहेंतें अति मिष्ट जु मधु कहा पुहपनि कौ मकरंद रस ता के पान करि सुदित कहा आनंदित भए है मधुप जा विषे कैसी बसंत समय विषे कौन के न उत्कंठा होइ ॥

श्लो० । स्रजो हृद्यामोदा व्यजनपवनचंद्रकिरणाः परागः पुष्पाणां मलयजरजः सौधुविशदं ॥ सुचिः सौधोत्संगः प्रतनुवसनं पंकजदृशो निदाघर्त्तावेतद्विलसति लभन्ते सुकृतिनः ॥ ६० ॥

अर्थ । निदाघर्त्ता । ग्रीष्म रितु विषे । ये सुकृतिनः । जे पुरुष पुन्यकारी हैं ते । एतत् लभन्ते । इतनीं बातें पावत हैं । कौन कौन बस्तु ति कहिजति है । हृद्यामोदाः स्रजः । हृद्य कहा अति मनोहर है आमोदु जिनको कैसी पुहपनि कौ माला । अरु । व्यजनपवनः । बीजना कौ सीतलु पवन । अरु चंद्रकिरणाः । चंद्रमा के परम शीतल किरण । इहिं करि जौन्ह जानिबौ । अरु । पुष्पाणां परागः । फूलनि कौ पराग । पराग कहावै रज । अरु । मलयजरजः । घस्यौ चंदनु । अरु । विशदं सौधु । अति निर्मल मय । इहिं करि और मादक बस्तु जानिबौ । अरु । जे मय के अधिकारी हैं तिनि कहुं उचितही है । अरु । सुचिः सौधोत्संगः । अति निर्मल राज मंदिर । अरु । प्रतनु वसनं । अति बारीक बारीक बसन । अरु । पंकज दृशः । समीप विषे पंकजदलाही स्त्री इतनीं बस्तुनि ग्रीष्म रितु विषे परम पुन्यकारी पावत हैं । ग्रीष्म रितु कैसी है । विलसति । इतनीं बाननि तें परम सुषद है । अब बहुरि तीनि श्लोक करि बरषा रितु दर्नत हैं ॥

श्लो० । वियदुपरि समेषं भूमयः कंदलिन्यो नवकुटजकदंबामोदिनो गंधवाहाः ॥ शिखिकुलकलकेकारावरम्या वनांताः सुखिनमसुखिनं वा सर्वमुत्कंठयन्ति ॥ ६१ ॥

अर्थ । बरषा रितु विषे । इतनीं बातें । सुखिनं असुखिनं वा । सुखी होइ किंवा दुषी होइ पै । सर्व उत्कंठयन्ति । सबहि उत्कंठित करति हैं । कौन कौन बस्तु ति कहिजति हैं । उपरि । ऊपर । समेषं वियत् । मेखनि

सहित आकास । अरु । तरहरि । कंदलिन्यो भूमयः । हरित कंदनि  
करि परम सुन्दर भूमि । अरु नव कहेंतें तत्कालही के फूले कुटज कहा  
कुरे के फूल अरु कदंब के फूल तिनि को जु आमोदु कहा सुगंध ताहि  
लये बहत ऐसे । गंधवाह कहा वायु । अरु । शिखि कुलु कहेंतें  
मधुरनि को समूहु ता को जु कल कहेंतें परममनोहर केकाराव कहा  
केका शब्द तिहिं करि अति रम्य वनांत कहेंतें बननि के मध्य । इतनो  
बातें बरषा रितु विषे सुषीहि अरु दुषीहि सबही उत्कंठा होति है ॥

श्लो० । तरुणीवैषा दीपितकामा विकसज्जाती पुष्पसुगंधिः । उन्नत-  
पीनपयोधरभारा प्रावृटकस्य न कुरुते हर्षं ॥ ६२ ॥

अर्थ । प्रावृट् बरषा रितु । कस्य हर्षं न कुरुते । काकहुं आनंदहि  
नाहीं करति । किंतु सबहीनि कहुं आनंदहि करति है । तरुणी इव ।  
ऐसे तरुण स्त्री कौन कहुं आनंद न करई । कैसी है बरषा रितु । दीपित-  
कामा । काम की उद्दीपनहारि है । अरु तरुणी फुनि काम की  
उद्दीपनहारि है । फुनि कैसी है बरषा रितु । विकसित जु हैं जाती  
कहेंतें जाई के पुहपनि को उत्तमु है सब ही गंध जा विषे । ऐसी बरषा  
रितु है । अरु तरुणी फुनि बिकसे जाई के फूल जब माथे पर धरति है  
तब परम सुगंधु चलतु है । अथवा बिकसे जु जाई के पुहपतिन कैसी  
सर्वांग विषे सुभाव ही को है सुगंधु जाके ऐसी तरुणी हैं । बहुरि कैसी  
है बरषा रितु । उन्नत कहा ऊंच जु पीन कहेंतें पुष्ट । पयोधर मेघ  
तिनको है भार जा विषे ऐसी बरषा रितु है । अरु तरुणी फुनि  
उन्नत अरु पीन कहेंतें मसीले पयोधर कहा स्तननि के भारहि लये  
बहति हैं ॥

श्लो० । आसारेण न हर्म्यतः प्रियतमः शक्नोति गंतुं वह्निः शीतोत्कंप-  
निमित्तमायतदृशा गाढं समालिङ्ग्यते ॥ जालैः शीतलभीकराश्च मरुतो  
रत्यंतखेदच्छिदो धन्यानां बहु दुर्द्दिनं सुदिनतां याति प्रियासंगमे ॥ ६३ ॥

अर्थ । धन्यानां । जे धन्य हैं तिनि कहुं । दुर्द्दिनं । मेघनि करि  
आछन दुषदाता दिनु । सु प्रियाके संगम विषे । सुदिनतां याति । परम  
सुदिनताहि प्राप्त होतु है । याको यह अर्थ । मेघनि करि आछन जु  
दिनु सु दुर्द्दिनु कहावतु है । सु दुर्द्दिनु यद्यपि औरनि कहुं दुषदाता है  
तथापि जे धन्य हैं तिन कहुं प्राण प्रिया स्त्री के सुष संगम विषे अति  
सुषदाता होतु है । तथा दुर्द्दिनु धन्य पुरुषनि कहुं जिहि प्रकार सुखिनु

हीतु है सु प्रकार कहिजतु है। आसारेण। बरषत जु है जलु सु तिहितें।  
प्रियतमः। प्राणेश्वरु। हर्म्यतः। उत्तम गृह ते। बहिः। बाहिर। गंतुं  
न शक्नोति। निकसि सकतु वै नाहीं। स्त्रीके समीप ही रहिबौ करतु है।  
अरु शीतोत्कंपनिमित्तं। लकवाई के बरसत अति जाडौ जु हीतु है  
सु तातें। आयतदृशा। कमलदल विशाल लीचनी स्त्री करि अपनी  
प्राणेश्वरु। गाढं समालिङ्ग्यते। बार बार गाढें आलिङ्गितु है। अरु  
जब सुरत क्रीडा करेतें अमु हीतु है तब शीतल बयारि लैन बाहिर नाहीं  
जात किंतु। शीतलशीकराः। परम शीतल जलके कणनि लयें। याही  
तें रति के अंत जु खेद हीतु है ताके दूर करनहार। जालैः। भरीषानि  
मध्य ते। मारुत। वायु आउति है। तातें इहि प्रकार ते दुर्दिन औसै  
भाग्यवंत पुरुषनि कहुं सुषदाताई ह्वै जातु है॥

श्लो०। अर्द्धं सुप्ला निशायाः सरभससुरतायाससन्नश्लयांगः प्रोद्धू-  
तासद्यतर्षो मधुमदनिरतो हर्म्यपृष्ठे विविक्ते॥ संभोगक्लांतकांताशिथिल-  
भुजलतावर्जितं शर्कराभं ज्योत्स्नाभिन्नाच्छुधारं न पिबति सलिलं शारदं  
मंदभाग्यः॥ ६४॥

अर्थ। हर्म्यपृष्ठे। उत्तम घर की अटारी पर। विविक्ते। एकांत विषे।  
निशाया अर्द्धं। आधीराति। सुप्ता। सोइकी ता पाछे जागिकी। कीनी  
जु। सरभस कहेतें निर्दय ह्वै करि सुरतु ताकी जु आयासु कहा अमु  
तिहि ते संन कहेतें उत्साह करि रहित भए हैं अरु श्लय कहेतें ढीले  
ह्वै गए हैं अंग जाके औसी ह्वै करि। तब। मधुमदनिरतः। मादक वस्तु  
पायेंतें। प्रोद्धूत कहेतें लगी है असद्य कहा दुसह जल की तृषा जाहि  
औसी ह्वै करि। तब। संभोगते क्लान्त भई कहा अमित ह्वै गई जु कांता  
स्त्री तिहि अपनी शिथिल भुजलता की आवर्जित कहेतें दयौ जु सरद  
कालु की सलिलु ता सलिलहि। यो न पिबति। जु नाहीं पीवतु सु।  
मंद भाग्य है। है कैसी सरत्काल की जलु। ज्योत्स्ना जु है जोन्ह  
तिहि करि भिन्न कहेतें मिश्रित है निर्मल धार जाकी औसी है जलु।  
याही ते। शर्कराभं। जजरौ सर्करा की सी है आभा जाकी औसी है।  
या श्लोक की यह सूधी अर्थु। सरद रितु विषे आधी राति सोइकी ता पाछे  
जागिकी अति निर्दय सुरतु करेतें अम ते ढीले अंगनि तृषावंतु ह्वै करि  
संभोग अम ते शिथिल भुजलता करि स्त्री जलु ताहि मंदभाग्यु जु होइ  
सु न पीवै। सु वह जलु कैसी है। टोंटो मध्य ते निकसित ही जुनहाई

सौ जु मिथित होतु है तातें निर्मल धार निकसति है । अब है नीक करि  
हेमन्त रितु वर्णत हैं ॥

श्लो० । प्रोद्यत्प्रौढप्रियंगुद्युतिभति विदलत्कुंदमाद्यद्विरेफे काले प्रालेय-  
वातप्रबलविकसितोद्दाममंदारदान्त्रि ॥ शेषां कंठि न लग्ना क्षणमपि  
तुहिनक्षोदरक्षा मृगाक्षी तेषामयामिमायामयसदनसमा यामिनी याति  
यूनां ॥ ६५ ॥

अर्थ । काले । या हेमन्त काल विषे । शेषां कंठि । जिनि के कंठ  
विषे । क्षणमपि । एकौ क्षण । मृगाक्षी स्त्री । न लग्ना । नाहीं लगि  
रहति । तेषां यूनां । तिन तरुननि की । यामिनी । रात्रि । आयामी  
कहा अति विस्तीर्ण जु मायामयसदन । कहा गंधर्व नगर । तासमान  
निरर्थकही । याति । बीतति है । आकास विषे राते पीरे म्याम  
बादरनि की जु नगर सौ है रहतु है सु गंधर्व नगर कहाउतु है । सु वह  
गंधर्व नगर जैसे निरर्थकु है जातु है । अैसे तिन पुष्पनि की राति  
निरर्थक जाति हैं । जिनके कंठ विषे हेमन्त काल की राति विषे मृगाक्षी  
लागि नाहीं रहति । कैसी है मृगाक्षी तुहिन जु है तुसार ताके जु  
क्षोदर कहेंते कनिका । तिनतें रक्षा करि जु लेति है । मृगाक्षी जब  
कंठ सौ लगि रहति हैं तब तुसार नाहीं व्यापि सकतु । कैसी है हेमन्त  
काल । प्रोद्यत् कहेंते फूले जु प्रौढ प्रौढ प्रियगु नाम वृक्ष तिनिकी जु  
द्युति कहा दीप्ति ताहि धरतु है । बहुरि कैसी है हेमन्त काल । विदलत्  
कहेंते विकसित जु हैं कुंद के फूल तिनकी मकरंद पौ करि । माद्यत् कहा  
मत्त होत है द्विरेफ कहेंते भ्रमर जा विषे अैसे हेमन्त रितु हैं । बहुरि कैसी  
है हेमन्त रितु । प्रालेय कहा अति शीतल जु वात कहा वायु ताके चलत  
प्रबल कहा हालत हैं अरु विकसित है उद्दाम कहा अति सुंदर । मंदार  
वृक्ष के फूलनि की दाम कहेंते माला । जा विषे अैसे हेमन्त रितु है ।

श्लो० । हेमन्ते दधिदुग्धसर्पिरशना मांजिष्ठवासीभृतः काञ्चीरद्रव-  
सांद्रदिग्धवपुषः खिन्ना विचिवैः रतैः ॥ वृत्तोत्तुस्तनकामिनीजनकताम्रैषा  
महाभ्यंतरे तांबूलीदलपूगपूरितमुखा धन्याः सुखं धीरते ॥ ६६ ॥

अर्थ । हेमन्ते । हेमन्त रितु विषे । ये धन्याः । ये धन्य पुरुष हैं ते ।  
दधि दुग्ध सर्पिरशना । दधि दूध वृतु भोजन करत हैं । अरु मांजिष्ठ-  
वासीभृतः । मज्जीठ के रंगे वसन पहिरत हैं । अरु काञ्चीरद्रवसांद्रदिग्ध-  
वपुषः । केसरिके \* \* \* \* \*

इत्थट्टो । ए चाठञ्ज सात्त्विकाः क्षृताः । सात्त्विक भाव हैं ॥ बहुरि शिशिर  
रितु की वायु कैसी है । जब बौछनि सी जा लगतु है तब । बारं बारं ।  
बार बार । उदार कहेंतें अति सुन्दर स्त्री सीत्कारहि करतु है दंत छद  
कहेंतें बौछनि । पौडयन् । पौडा करतु हैं । याकी यह तात्पर्युं । स्त्री के  
बौछनि मध्य दंत छत जु लगे है सु तापर जबहीं शीतल वायु लगतु है  
तब सीत्कार करति हैं । भर्ता फुनि जब अधर पानु करतु है तब स्त्री  
सीत्कार करति है अरु कछुतु पौडाऊ होति है । सु इहिं प्रकार शिशिर  
रितु की वायु स्त्रीनि कहुं भर्ताके कर्म करतु है ॥

श्लो० । चुंबंतो गंडभिर्त्तीरलकवति मुखे सीत्कृतान्यादधाना वक्षः  
स्तत्कंचुकेषु स्तनभरपुलोकीर्द्धेदमापादयन्तः ॥ उरुनाकंपयन्तः पृथुजघन-  
तटात्संख्यंतोऽशुकानि व्यक्तं कांताजनानां विटचरितभृताः शैशिरा वांति  
वाताः ॥ ६८ ॥

अर्थ । शैशिरा वाताः । शिशिर रितु के वायु । वांति । बहत हैं ।  
हैं कैसी सिसिर रितु के वायु । कांता जननि कहुं । व्यक्तं । प्रगटही विट-  
चरितभृताः । लंपट पुरुषनिके कर्म करतु है । हैं कैसी कर्म ति कहि-  
जति हैं । कैसी हैं शिशिर रितु के वायु । गंडभिर्त्तीः । स्त्रीके कपोलस्त्रलनि ।  
चुंबंतः । चुंबंत है चुम्बिबौ इहां सरसिबौई जानिबौ । लंपट पुरुष फुनि  
स्त्रीनिके कपोल चुंबंत फिरत हैं । बहुरि कहा करत है शिशिर रितु के  
वायु । अलकवति मुखे । अलकनि छुइकी तब स्त्रीनिके मुख विषे ।  
सीत्कृतानि आदधानाः । सीत्कार करवाउत हैं । लंपट पुरुष फुनि अलक  
गहिंकी स्त्री के मुखहिं जब चुंबत हैं तब स्त्री सीत्कारहि करती हैं । बहुरि  
कहा करत है शिशिर रितु के वायु । वक्षः सु उत्कंचुकेषु । स्त्रीनि के  
वक्षस्त्रलनि पर तें कंचु उसासिकी तब स्तननि की सरसिकी तब स्तननि पर ।  
पुलकीर्द्धेदं । रोमांचनि । आपादयंतः । करत हैं । लंपट पुरुषी फुनि  
स्त्रीनि की कंचुकी उठावत हैं । स्तननि की सरस करत हैं तब स्तननि  
पर रोमांच होत हैं । बहुरि कहा करत हैं शिशिर रितु के वायु । जबहीं  
स्त्रीनिके अंगनि पर आवत है तबही । उरुन् । पीडुरीनि । आकंपयंतः ।  
अति कंपाउत है । लंपट पुरुष फुनि जबहीं स्त्रीनिकी पीडुरीनि कुवत हैं  
तब पीडुरी कांपन लगति है । बहुरि कहा करत हैं । शिशिर रितु के  
वायु । पृथुजघनतटात् । अति रूख जघनानि पर तें । अंशुकानि ।  
बखनि । संख्यंतः । बसावत हैं । लंपट पुरुष फुनि बखहि बसाइ पारत



है । सु इहि प्रकार शिशिर रितुके बायु धिटनि कैसे कर्म करत हैं । धिट कहावै लंपट ॥ अब भर्तृहरि शृंगार शतु समाप्त होत मनुष्यनि की रुचि के भेद कहत है ॥

श्लो० । वैराग्ये संचरन्त्येके नीती चरति कश्चन ॥ शृंगारे रमते कश्चिदुचिभेदाः परस्परं ॥ ६६ ॥

अर्थ । एके वैराग्य सौ प्रीति मानत हैं । एकी नीती चरति । एके राजनीतिह विषे रुचि करत हैं । कश्चन । कोऊकु फुनि । शृंगारह विषे रति करति है । अरु । कश्चिदुचिभेदाः परस्परं । तातें मनुष्यनि की रुचि भेद नाना प्रकार है । काहं एक सौ नाहीं ॥

श्लो० । यद्यस्य नाति रुचिरं न तत्र तस्य स्पृहा मनोऽपि ॥ रमणीयेपि सुधांशी न नाम कामः सरोजानां ॥ १०० ॥

अर्थ । यत् । जु बस्तु । यस्य । जा कहूं । अति रुचिरं न । अत्यंत रुचि कारी नाहीं । तत्र मनोऽपि । सु बस्तु जो सुंदरी होइ तऊ वा बस्तु विषे । तस्य । ता के । स्पृहा न । स्पृहा कहूं नाहीं होति । जैसे । रमणीयेपि सुधांशी । चंद्रमा यद्यपि अति रमणीय है तऊ चंद्रमा विषे । सरोजानां । सरोजनि के । कामो न । रुचि नाहीं । सु यह बात नाम । प्रसिद्ध है नाम सन्दु प्रसिद्ध विषे बर्ततु है ॥ भर्तृहरि कृत शृंगार सत समाप्त ॥ सुभमस्तु ॥ मांगल्यं ददतु ॥ सुभमस्तु ॥

लिखितं—किसीर दास सैनिकंसी ॥ संबत १६८३ वर्षे माघ वदि ३ सोमवारे ॥ सुभंभवतु ॥ श्री ॥

### NOTES ON THE TEXT.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 1. This is No. 1 (Vairagya Shataka) in the Bombay text and also No. 1 (Vairagya Shataka) in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdulavikrīṛita.

The manuscript gives the meaningless चूडात्तसित for चडोत्तसित. Both the printed texts read चाटयन् for छेदयन्, चेतः for स्वांते and ज्ञान for बोध. In the commentary ग्रह मध्य is wrongly written for गृह मध्य.

है । सु इहि प्रकार शिशिर रितुके बायु धिटनि कैसे कर्म करत हैं । धिट कहावै लंपट ॥ अब भर्तृहरि शृंगार शतु समाप्त होत मनुष्यनि की रुचि के भेद कहत है ॥

श्लो० । वैराग्ये संचरन्त्येके नीती चरति कश्चन ॥ शृंगारे रमते कश्चिदुचिभेदाः परस्परं ॥ ६६ ॥

अर्थ । एके वैराग्य सौ प्रीति मानत हैं । एकी नीती चरति । एके राजनीतिह विषे रुचि करत हैं । कश्चन । कोऊकु फुनि । शृंगारह विषे रति करति है । अरु । कश्चिदुचिभेदाः परस्परं । तातें मनुष्यनि की रुचि भेद नाना प्रकार है । काहं एक सौ नाहीं ॥

श्लो० । यद्यस्य नाति रुचिरं न तत्र तस्य स्पृहा मनोऽपि ॥ रमणीयेपि सुधांशी न नाम कामः सरोजानां ॥ १०० ॥

अर्थ । यत् । जु बस्तु । यस्य । जा कहूं । अति रुचिरं न । अत्यंत रुचि कारी नाहीं । तत्र मनोऽपि । सु बस्तु जो सुंदरी होइ तऊ वा बस्तु विषे । तस्य । ता के । स्पृहा न । स्पृहा कहूं नाहीं होति । जैसे । रमणीयेपि सुधांशी । चंद्रमा यद्यपि अति रमणीय है तऊ चंद्रमा विषे । सरोजानां । सरोजनि के । कामो न । रुचि नाहीं । सु यह बात नाम । प्रसिद्ध है नाम सन्दु प्रसिद्ध विषे बर्ततु है ॥ भर्तृहरि कृत शृंगार सत समाप्त ॥ सुभमस्तु ॥ मांगल्यं ददतु ॥ सुभमस्तु ॥

लिखितं—किसीर दास सैनिकंसी ॥ संबत १६८३ वर्षे माघ वदि ३ सोमवारे ॥ सुभंभवतु ॥ श्री ॥

### NOTES ON THE TEXT.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 1. This is No. 1 (Vairagya Shataka) in the Bombay text and also No. 1 (Vairagya Shataka) in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdulavikrīṭa.

The manuscript gives the meaningless चूडात्तसित for चडोत्तसित. Both the printed texts read चाटयन् for छेदयन्, चेतः for स्वांते and ज्ञान for बोध. In the commentary ग्रह मध्य is wrongly written for गृह मध्य.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 2. This is No. 95 in the Bombay text and No. 94 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is again Shārdūlavikrīṛita.

Both the printed texts end the stanza भ्रष्टदिशो दृश्यताम् instead of भ्रष्टदिवी दिश्यतां. They also both read विच्छिन्ने for छिन्नेऽस्मिन्. In the manuscript कलक्रीडा was written originally for कलहक्रीडा, but a correction has been made in black ink by a different hand at a much later and probably quite recent date.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 3 This is No. 55 in the Bombay text and No. 55 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Rathoddhatā.

The Bombay text reads कृतिनामपि instead of विदुषां हृदि, while Gopi Nath has कृतिनां हृदि. In the commentary तो ही लो is written without anusvāra for तो ही लो.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 4. This is No. 92 in the Bombay text and No. 91 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Vasantatilakā and not Mālinī, as wrongly stated in the Bombay edition. The Bombay text has तरल for चपल and रूप for दर्प.

In the commentary दर्प is written for दर्प, it being the practice in the manuscript to double all consonants after र. पीन is written with an unnecessary nasalisation, just as कीन is throughout.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 5. This is not found in the Bombay text at all, but is given by Gopi Nath as No. 109 of the Vairagya Shataka. The metre is Shikharinī.

The manuscript omits the म required between त्म and न in आत्ममनसो in the Sanskrit text. Gopi Nath reads किमुतैः for किमिति and कमलैः for मधुभिः.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 6. This is No. 56 in the Bombay text and No. 56 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Mālinī.

The manuscript omits the word सुखर entirely in शुतिमुखरमुखानां, spoiling the metre completely. In the commentary the word is given in the form सुषर which is explained as meaning one whose tongue (रसना) moves day and night (रातिदिनु चलति ररति). It also has by haplography नयनां for नयननां. Gopi Nath's text reverses the order of the first two words. In the commentary वकहृत (talk) is almost certainly an error for वकत and not a variant form.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 7. This is No. 58 in the Bombay text and No. 58 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Vasantatilakā.

The only noticeable points are that in the manuscript the प of कन्दर्प is written doubled, as is that of दर्प (pride), and that in the commentary the anusvāra of बलिनां is omitted.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 8. This is No. 2 in the Bombay text and No. 2 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Vainshastha.

The printed texts both read भिया (fear) instead of धिया, and कलहेन for कलहेच, while Gopi Nath's text ends with स्त्रियां instead of स्त्रियः. The first two lines of the commentary have no connection with the Sanskrit text, and it is difficult to understand how they have crept in.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 9. This is No. 8 in the Bombay text and No. 8 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Vasantatilakā.

The printed texts begin the stanza with एताः स्थलद् instead of एताचलद् and read कृत for गत. They also end with सदृशैः कटाक्षैः instead of सदृशाक्षिपातैः. The commentary contains one extraordinary blunder, the meaningless हिसंत for संवतः. गतराजहंस्यः is also written wrongly for आगतराजहंस्यः, and कस्य नो मनः for कस्य न मनो.

**SHRNGĀRA-SHATAKA OF BHARTṚHARI 127**

**Sanskrit Stanza No. 10.** This is No. 54 in the Bombay text and No. 54 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Indravajrā.

The printed texts read सर्वेष्टु च for सप्तष्टुपि and एतत् for एव. In the commentary दुःखैकहेतू is wrongly written with a long final vowel. संयोग is written for the Sanskrit संयोग, and यानिबी is a pure blunder for जानिबी, while विवीग is a corruption of वियोग.

**Sanskrit Stanza No. 11.** This is No. 78 in the Bombay text and No. 78 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Indravajrā.

The printed texts both read षडक्षि for षडंष्टि (six footed, i. e., a bee), the former being the more correct form, and सुधा for वृषा.

**Sanskrit Stanza No. 12.** This is No. 67 in the Bombay text and No. 67 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa.

The texts read चिरः for गर, मानं and ज्ञानं (Gopi Nath) for चेतो and गाढदुमे for षट्दुमे. In the commentary the च of एकांतखलहि has been dropped by the scribe, who has also written जदि for यदि in quoting the Sanskrit and dropped the long vowel of प्राय.

**Sanskrit Stanza No. 13.** This is No. 98 in the Bombay text and is not to be found in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Mālinī.

In the Bombay text the stanza begins with दिग् instead of यदि, but there are no other variations.

In the commentary निगर्धक is wrongly written for निरर्धक (meaningless), and a later hand has inserted an unnecessary न after the ह of हवीर्णा.

**Sanskrit Stanza No. 14.** This is composed of No. 51 (first half) and No. 52 (second half) in the Bombay text and

corresponds with the same parts of the same stanzas in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shikharinī.

There are two bad blunders of the scribe in the Sanskrit, the word **विरति** and the letters **परहि** of **परहितात्** being altogether omitted. In the commentary **आससाध्य** appears to be meaningless and I have ventured to replace it by **आयास साध्य**.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 15. This is No. 18 in the Bombay text and No. 18 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Upajāti.

The **म** of **मात्सर्यम्** has been wrongly written as **स** by the scribe and **सग्या** also written by error for **सेग्या**. At the end of the stanza Gopi Nath's edition reads **नितम्बिनीनाम्** for **विलासिनीनां**.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 16. This is No. 53 in the Bombay text and No. 53 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Mālinī.

The Sanskrit text is wrong in the manuscript, the omission of **मिह** after **द्वय** and before **पुरुषाणां** spoiling the metre. In the commentary **सुंदरीनां** is wrongly written for **सुन्दरीणां**.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 17. This is No. 94 in the Bombay text and No. 86 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Vasantatilakā.

The printed texts read **रसखेद** for **रतिखेद**, and the manuscript drops wrongly the final long vowel of **कुकुमार्दे**. In the commentary **धन्युः** is wrongly written for **धन्य**, and the **प** of **अपनी** before **वक्ष्यस्व** has been dropped by the scribe.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 18. This is No. 69 in the Bombay text and No. 69 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Sragdhāṛā.

In the Sanskrit जगतः has been wrongly written for गतः, the ज being introduced by dittography from the preceding word जगति. The words को वायौ वैः as written by the scribe are quite meaningless, so I have restored कोऽर्थोऽर्थैः from the printed texts. The Bombay text reads लीकनानां for लीकितानां and यावच्चाक्रम्य for आक्रम्याक्रम्य. Both printed texts begin the stanza with राजन् instead of राज्ये. In the commentary an unnecessary anusvāra is given to नहि.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 19. This is No. 43 in the Bombay text and No. 43 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Āryā.

In the Sanskrit the word घनं has been wrongly written twice before घनपटलं, and पतिकः written for पथिकः. In the printed texts, the Bombay edition prints the second half of the stanza thus :

वसुधाकंदलधवला तुष्टिं पथिकः क्व यातु संवस्तः Gopi Nath has the same reading as the manuscript, except यापयतु for पातयतु at the end.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 20. This is No. 19 in the Bombay text and No. 19 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Sragdharā.

The printed texts differ with regard to this indelicate stanza, Gopi Nath following the manuscript and the Bombay text reading भर instead of घन after स्तनजघन. The manuscript wrongly drops the final नां of संशोभिनीनां (in the Bombay text संशोभिनीनां and in Gopi Nath's edition संसर्गिणीनां). Both printed texts end with लीलीयतानाम् for लीलीयमानां. In the commentary the meaningless word महांविकृत occurs for महाविरक्त.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 21. This is No. 72 in the Bombay text and No. 72 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa.

The printed texts read भरेत्युत्सुक for भरेत्युत्समत्, while Gopi Nath has सुचति for मायति and Bombay text जानन्नपि. or विद्वानपि. The commentary gives an unnecessary anusvāra to the final vowel of मोदते.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 22. This is No. 4 in the Bombay text and No. 4 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shikharini.

The Sanskrit has विलासितैः wrongly for विलसितैः and also reads दिङ् : at the end where the Bombay text has इङ् : though Gopi Nath also reads दिङ् : . Both the printed texts have परिणतैः for परिगतैः, नवोढानाम् and for कुमारौषाम् चलितैः for वलितैः, while the Bombay text has एभिः for एतैः

Sanskrit Stanza No. 23. This is No. 5 in the Bombay text and No. 5 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa.

The Sanskrit text omits स्पर्श after वर्णः and also drops the visarga. The मं of मङ्गलं at the end is also dropped, the meaningless word ङ्गलं being left. Instead of विहासि the Bombay text has विकासि, while Gopi Nath reads विहम्बि. The Bombay text also has वक्षोज for वक्षोज, and संभ्रम for विभ्रम. In the commentary the order of the words वाचां चारि has been unnecessarily altered.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 24. This is No. 75 in the Bombay text and No. 75 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anuṣṭubh.

The Sanskrit words चम्बत् किञ्चित् in the commentary, which are not part of the text, tend to confirm me in the belief that this Hindi commentary is really a translation of a Sanskrit commentary and not an original composition. In Bombay text erroneously reads किञ्चिदेका for किञ्चिदेका.



Sanskrit Stanza No. 25. This is No. 3 in the Bombay text and No. 3 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shalini.

The printed texts both read लक्षितास्यैव हासा : for लक्षिता तास्य हासा :, and in the commentary च is written superfluously before स्त्रीणां.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 26. This is No. 6 in the Bombay text and No. 6 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shikharini.

The printed editions both read किमिह for किमिव and इडिविभवः for इडिविब्रिखा :, while Gopi Nath has परिचन्दो for परिसन्दो.

In the commentary कहीयंती is wrongly written for कहीजती.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 27. This is No. 73 in the Bombay text and No. 73 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anushtubh.

Gopi Nath reads चोन्मादकारिणी, but the Bombay text has चोन्मादवर्धिनी, which only differs from the manuscript by omitting द from the compound च्. In the commentary जे is written twice by error after मूढ हैजे.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 28. This is No. 76 in the Bombay text and No. 76 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Sragdharā.

The scribe has dropped the त्य of प्रत्ययानां at the end of the first half of the stanza. Both printed texts have विघ्नो for विघ्नं and at the end of the stanza instead of प्राणिलोकस्य पादः the Bombay text reads प्राणिना मोक्षपादः while Gopi Nath reads प्राणिनामेकपादः. Both printed texts have आवर्त with a single त. In the commentary स्पष्ट is wrongly written for सुष्ट.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 29. This is No. 77 in the Bombay text and No. 77 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa.

Both the texts read सत्यत्वेन for नी सत्येन at the beginning of the stanza, and शशांक for मृगांक, while they also read त्वङ् for त्वग् and मंदी जनः for अन्धी जनः. The Bombay text also has एकं for एवं.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 30. This is No. 59 in the Bombay text and No. 59 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Sragdharā.

There are three blunders in the Sanskrit text, पते for एते, यवल्लीला for यावल्लीला and हृदिं for हृदि. The printed texts both read धृतिमुषो for धृतमुखा and गता for जुषो, while the Bombay text reads स नर for पुरुष. In the commentary परतब has been written for परत तब, (an instance of haplography) and at the end सदति is apparently an error for सधति (turns out right).

Sanskrit Stanza No. 31. This is No. 79 in the Bombay text and No. 79 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shikharinī.

The scribe has dropped the त्य of भविष्यत्यसुखदं at the end of the stanza, and also written व्यतीत for व्यतीते and पाकु for पाक. The printed texts agree in reading वरं for धर and मधु for सुधा. The Bombay text reads फलमिवातीव विरसं for फलमिदानौमतिरसं the reading of the manuscript and of Gopi Nath. The Bombay text also reads हरद for हरम. In the commentary व्यते is erroneously written for व्यतीते.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 32. This is No. 66 in the Bombay text and No. 66 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Sragdharā.

The scribe has made three bad blunders in writing this stanza. He has written जद्येताः for यद्येता, प्रेषत् for प्रेषत्, and dropped the visarga of वरुण्य at the end. The printed texts read सेवावलम्ब for सेवाकलंक.

In the commentary अभीज is written for अभीज and कलाष for कलाप. The word निंद्य (blameworthy) is written without anusvāra, while नम्र has been given a superfluous anusvāra नंम्र, and in the compound व्यासंगव्यस्तर्धैयं the meaningless letters रामे have been inserted before धैयं.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 33. This is No. 33 in the Bombay text and No. 33 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Hariṇī.

The scribe has dropped the र of प्रसरति. Where the manuscript has मधुरवधृती the Bombay text has मधुरविरती and Gopi Nath reads मधुरविस्ती. Both the printed texts read सुरत for the second विरल and have राच्यां for रन्धो after मधो.

The commentary unintelligently repeats the meaningless प्रसति and also has अंकर for अंकुर, and गुणीदयो for गुणीदयो.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 34. This is No. 38 in the Bombay text and No. 38 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Vasantatilakā.

The manuscript has अछ for अच्छ in the Sanskrit, and खेछ for खेच्छ in the commentary. The texts both have सुमनसः for सुवसनं, and Gopi Nath reads अच्छार्द्र for अच्छाच्छ at the beginning of the stanza. In the commentary a superfluous य is written after कुसुमानि च.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 35. This is No. 62 in the Bombay text and No. 62 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Mandākrāntā.

The scribe has omitted the anusvāra of भजनं. The texts both read प्रथितविनयो for प्रशुणितनयो, बाढं for गाढं, निरयनगर for निरयनिलय and भवति for भमति.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 36. This is No. 80 in the Bombay text and is found in Gopi Nath's edition as No. 111 of the Vairāgya Shataka. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa.

The Bombay text reads निलया for बलया, मिथुना for युगला and क्रुराशया नेष्यते for क्रूरा च नापेक्ष्यते.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 37. This No. 87 in the Bombay text and is given in Gopi Nath's edition as No. 112 of the Vairāgya Shataka. The metre is Mālīnī.

The Bombay text reads नृत्यम् for रूपम् and has सङ्घितकरणदक्षैः for सङ्घितकरणधूर्तैः. In the commentary पस्पर्श is written erroneously for स्पर्श (touching). The passage in the commentary beginning with the words असौ परिमलः and ending with आसक्त भई has been written a second time owing to the inadvertence of the scribe.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 38. This is No. 68 in the Bombay text and No. 68 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anuṣṭubh. Gopi Nath reads संसारीदधि for संसार तव.

The scribe has written मदिरेश्वरः wrongly for मदिरेश्वराः. In the commentary the words हुस्तरा न द्युः have been repeated owing to the carelessness of the writer.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 39. This is No. 85 in the Bombay text and No. 84 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anuṣṭubh.

This is one of the few stanzas in which there is neither an error of the scribe nor a variation in reading compared with the printed texts. There are no blunders, too, in the commentary.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 40. This is No. 71 in the Bombay text and No. 71 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa.

The scribe has wrongly written **ओतसि** for **ओतसि** and **जीवन** for **यीवने**. The texts both read **प्रचुरतः** for the rare word **विह्वल** (gliding) of the manuscript and **रस** for **सरो**, while in the Bombay text **पारण** is given instead of **पार्वण**. In the commentary **जीवने** is written for **यीवने**.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 41. This is No. 70 in the Bombay text and No. 70 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Sragdharā.

For **ब्रजकुलभवनं** the Bombay text reads **निजकुलदहनं** and Gopi Nath's edition has **ब्रजकुलमवनं**. In the commentary **भवनं** is written by error for **भवनं**. There are also three errors in writing the Hindi, **हव** being written for **अव** (and), **वनु** for **यीवनु**, and **केली** for **अकेली** alone.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 42. This is No. 7 in the Bombay text and No. 7 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa. The texts both read **मृगदृशां** for **मृगदृशः**, while the Bombay text has **सहृदयैः** for **सुहृदयैः**. In the commentary **यौ** is found written for **जी** (if), and **दर्शनौव** is an error for **दर्शनौव**.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 43. This is No. 89 in the Bombay text and No. 88 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa.

The printed texts have **दुर्मखाय** for **दुर्मदाय**, **यामीणाय** for **दुःशीलाय** and **दुष्कुलाय** for **दुर्मखाय**. Also for **गलत्कुडाय भूताय च** in the manuscript, the texts have the more intelligible reading (which also observes the requirement that there should be a **च** after each separate adjective) **गलत्कुडामिभूताय च**. The commentary has the barbarous word **जहंतौव** for

यच्छंतीषु, and रज्यत for रज्येत. The commentary on this stanza is badly damaged and several conjectural restorations have been necessary, but all seem fairly obvious. The Hindi word for body appears with initial dental स and also with palatal श.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 44. This is No. 91 in the Bombay text and No. 90 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Āryā.

The Bombay text instead of नटभटचेरकचारणविट reads चारभटचोरचेटकनटविट and Gopi Nath has the same reading with the substitution of चौर for चोर.

In the commentary a superfluous क has been written after the word विट before the phrase कहेंते, an instance of dittography.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 45. This is No. 90 in the Bombay text and No. 89 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anuṣṭubh.

The printed texts both have समेधिता for विवर्द्धिता and यत्र for तत्र

Sanskrit Stanza No. 46. This is No. 34 in the Bombay text and No. 34 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Drutavilambita.

There is only one slight variation in reading in this stanza, *viz.*, प्रणिहन्ति in both printed texts for प्रतिहन्ति. The commentary occurs on leaf No. 24, which has been damaged, though not quite so severely as leaf No. 23. Conjectural restorations have been effected without much difficulty. The commentary quotes a stanza for the Kirātārjunīya (Canto 9, line 29) in the Svāgatā metre, which is also commented on. The commentary contains two blunders, the barbarous form सेङ्गिरे for the Sanskrit सेहरे, and the meaningless लाति for लागति at the end. \*In the Sanskrit विहगिना is an error for विहगेन.

**Sanskrit Stanza No. 47.** This is No. 61 in the Bombay text and No. 61 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anuṣṭubh.

The Bombay text reads विवेकिता for विवेकित्वं and कुलीनत्वं for कुलीनता and changes the order of these two words. The edition of Gopi Nath follows the same reading as the Bombay edition. The commentary on this stanza cites a stanza from the Prabodhachandrodaya, which is in the Shikharinī metre, and comments on it

**Sanskrit Stanza No. 48.** This is No. 1 in the Bombay text and No. 1 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Vasantatilakā

The printed texts both read विचिचताय for पविचताय and गृहकर्मदासा for गृहकुम्भदासा (visarga being dropped by error). The commentary wrongly has हरय for हरयो and कीनींही for कीनींही.

**Sanskrit Stanza No. 49.** This is No. 64 in the Bombay text and No. 64 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṛita.

In the Sanskrit नग्री is written wrongly for नग्री (naked). For विवृतां the Bombay text reads जननी and Gopi Nath's edition परमां. It is very curious to notice that the commentary in the manuscript gives and explains परमां and not विवृतां. For रक्तपटौकता : both the printed editions read पंचशिखीकृताः. The commentary omits anusvāra from the Hindi नांगी (naked).

**Sanskrit Stanza No. 50.** This is No. 84 in the Bombay text and No. 83 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Vasantatilakā.

The Bombay text reads at the end of the stanza पचतीत्यनुरागवक्त्री but the edition of Gopi Nath has स

पचत्यनुरागवक्त्री as in the manuscript. Both texts have लोल for the लुब्ध of the manuscript.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 51. This is No. 60 in the Bombay text and No. 60 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anushtubh.

The scribe has written षलु for खलु, but in all other respects the text corresponds with the readings of the two printed texts. The commentary on this stanza introduces a story about the sage Kasyap and his wife Diti, which is the only independent piece of Hindi prose in the manuscript. ग्रहस्थु occurs by error for गृहस्थु.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 52. This is No. 30 in the Bombay text and No. 30 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Hariṇī.

The scribe has dropped the म from प्रणयमधुरा : and also the anusvāra, with which he always ends a stanza instead of the modern म्, from मृगटगां. The printed texts both read प्रेमोद्गाढा for प्रेमोद्गारा and also विश्वम्भार्द्वाः for विश्वम्भार्द्वा : They also both have लसा for वशा and दायिनी for कारिणी.

The commentary on this stanza departs completely from the Sanskrit text and begins in the middle to explain a passage (रसोत्करसंभता : etcetera) which does not occur in this or apparently any other stanza of Bhartṛhari. The commentary wrongly reads मुग्ध for मुग्ध.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 53. This is No. 24 in the Bombay text and No. 24 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Rathoddhatā.

Both printed texts have मनोहरा for मजाहसा and the Bombay text also has कुंकुमान्वितम् for कुंकुमाविवं.

The commentary wrongly has the plural परिमिताः



**Sanskrit Stanza No. 54.** This is No. 9 in the Bombay text and No. 9 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is **Dodhaka**, this being the sole instance of this rare dactylic metre in Bhartṛhari's three centuries.

The scribe has dropped the second प from पदपद्मा and has also written कपितहारा for कम्पितहारा:

**Sanskrit Stanza No. 55.** This is No. 10 in the Bombay text and No. 10 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is **Vasantatilakā**.

The scribe has written अबल for अबला in the first half of the Sanskrit stanza. Both the printed texts read कामिनीनाम् for कामिनीस्ता:

The Bombay text reads विजिताखबलाः for विजिता अबला, which is found too in Gopi Nath's edition.

**Sanskrit Stanza No. 56.** This is No. 15 in the Bombay text and No. 15 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is **Shārdūlavikrīṭa**.

Both printed texts have केन सा for सा कथं at the end of the stanza, and a visarga before स्तन at the beginning, while the Bombay text begins with यदृत्त and has पंक्तिरेव for पंक्तिकेव.

The word वर्तुलाकार globular is pure Sanskrit, being वर्तुल a ball plus आकार shape. कुहु after जिघैयानि is clearly a slip of the pen and not a variant of the genitive postposition. The त्त of उदृत्त is also dropped by error. च्छुक्त and युगत are both corruptions of the same Sanskrit word. In the commentary a curious contraction is found in संतापु प्याइजतु (grief is produced), one short u being absorbed by another.

**Sanskrit Stanza No. 57.** This is No. 81 in the Bombay text and No. 80 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is **Anuṣṭubh**.

The scribe has written the extra letters चिंतये before चिंतयंत्यन्ये by a kind of proleptic dittography. For न स्त्रीणा-  
मेवाती रति both the printed texts read प्रियः की नाम योषिताम्.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 58. This is No. 57 in the Bombay text and No. 57 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Pathyā.

The scribe has dropped the visarga both from युवती and from अप्सरसः, and has also wrongly written तपसीऽपि for तपसीऽपि. For स्वर्गः स्वर्गेऽपि चाप्सरसः, which is the reading of Gopi Nath as well as of the manuscript, the Bombay text reads स्वर्गस्तस्यापि तथाऽप्यप्सरसः. In the commentary परह is an error for परं.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 59. This is No. 22 in the Bombay text and No. 22 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Upajāti.

The only error or variation in the text compared with the Bombay edition is the barbarous मयूरवान् for मयूखान्, which is repeated in the commentary, but Gopi Nath reads वने before द्रुमाणां.

There are three other blunders of the scribe in the commentary, viz., काचितु for काचित्, वदनद्रुमाणां for वनद्रुमाणां, and लत for लगत (अंगं सौ लगतं है).

Sanskrit Stanza No. 60. This is No. 23 in the Bombay text and No. 23 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Upajāti.

The word दर्शन after अदर्शने is omitted by haplography in the Sanskrit. The printed texts both read दृष्टा for दृष्टे. Gopi Nath's text wrongly omits the visarga after स्त्रीणा, while the Bombay edition has भेदनम् at the end which spoils the metre. In the commentary प्रयंत occurs as a variant for the Sanskrit पयंत.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 61. This is No 26 in the Bombay text and No. 26 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Mālinī.

There are two errors in the Sanskrit, चक्ष being wrongly written for क्षक्ष, and the न having dropped out from अधरमधु.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 62. This is not given in the Bombay text and is also not to be found in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Drutavilambita

The anusvāra has been omitted from दासि गृहं at the end of the stanza, as is clear from the sense and from the commentary.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 63. This is not given in the Bombay text, but is No. 96 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Rathoddhata. The printed text has इत्युदीये for इत्युदीय.

The only mistake of the scribe in writing the Sanskrit and the commentary is प्रियातमा for प्रियतमा in the latter

Sanskrit Stanza No. 64. This is No. 25 in the Bombay text and No. 25 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdulavikrīta.

The scribe has dropped the त from अनागतसुखं and written रतां for रतं at the end of the stanza. The texts read प्राङ् for प्राग् at the beginning, अमानितसुखं for अनागतसुखं निः शङ्क for निः संग, and सुधीक्षततनु (Gopi Nath) and सुधीक्षतमनु for सुधीक्षममय.

The commentator in the Bombay edition has made an appalling blunder in dealing with this stanza. He explains मामिति (मा मा + इति i.e., saying, no, no) as being composed of मा + एति (comes towards me).

In the Hindi commentary जाताभिलाषं is written wrongly for जाताभिलाषं.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 65. This is No. 74 in the Bombay text and No. 74 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anuṣṭubh.

The scribe has written चक्षः for चक्षुः.

The texts read गोचरा for गोचरे and for अपेता स, the Bombay text has अपेता तु, while Gopi Nath reads अपगता.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 66. This is No. 88 in the Bombay text and No. 87 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shikharinī.

The scribe has written गम्या for गम्यो at the beginning and also dropped ति from घूर्णयति at the end of the stanza and the negative न before च भवति.

In the commentary he has written औषद for औषध, प्रजति for व्रजति, given ज्य in भैषज्या an unnecessary anusvāra, written सते for ज्ञतेः, and विधदतु for विधदत्. The Bombay text has स्मरोऽपस्मारो for स्मरापस्मारो and भव्य for भंग.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 67. This is No. 11 in the Bombay text and No. 11 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anuṣṭubh.

The texts both read रुचितेषु प्रवर्तते for the सूचिते न प्रवर्तते of the manuscript

Sanskrit Stanza No. 68. This is No. 14 in the Bombay text and No. 14 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anuṣṭubh.

The printed texts both have सत्यग्री for सत्यर्क and तारावीन्दुषु for तारामणीदुषु.

In the commentary on this stanza the scribe has surpassed himself in unintelligent copying. He has written

तमीभूतं as if the word was तमे followed by भूतं placing a dividing stroke between, thus तमे । भूतं.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 69. This is No. 16 in the Bombay text and No. 16 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anusṭubh.

This shloka is another of the rare instances in which the Sanskrit text is free from blunders and variations, but the scribe has made up for this by writing the common word स्तन with a cerebral ण in the commentary.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 70. This is No. 20 in the Bombay text and No. 20 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anusṭubh.

Both the printed texts read रत्नमयीव for मणिमयीव. The manuscript has शा for सा at the end by error.

In the commentary the common word अंगनि has been wrongly written अंगणि.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 71 This is No. 93 in the Bombay text and No. 95 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anusṭubh

Both the printed texts read as follows : अजितात्मसु संबद्धः समाधिस्ततचापलः ॥ भुजङ्गकुटिलः स्तम्भो भूविक्षेपः खलायते ॥ In the commentary नाहीं (not) is written by error for नाईं (like), and असिक for असितः

Sanskrit Stanza No. 72 This is No. 13 in the Bombay text and No. 13 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anusṭubh.

The texts have त्वयि for तव. For यतो विध्यसि the Bombay text has यथा हरसि and Gopi Nath reads यदा विध्यसि.

The commentary has देषियति है for देषिजति है.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 73 This is not given in the Bombay text, but is to be found in Gopi Nath's edition,

(No. 97). The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa. Gopi Nath reads नीरागेष्वपि for नीरागेषु जिनी, यस्मात्परः for यस्यपर and ज्वाला-वलीढो for व्यासंगमुक्तो.

In the commentary the म of जैनधर्म has been dropped and भोक्तुं written without its anusvāra.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 74. This is No. 28 in the Bombay text and No. 28 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Pushpitāgrā.

The texts both read मान्मथा विकाराः for मान्मथो विकारः. The manuscript omits by error the first anusvāra in पुंसां.

In the commentary इद is written by error for इदं.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 75. This is No. 86 in the Bombay text and No. 85 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa.

The words दष्टे संति have been omitted by the scribe, who has also wrongly written दष्टो for दष्टो (bitten). Both the printed texts read व्यादीर्घेण for ज्यादीर्घेण. The scribe has also written द्यति for द्युति. For तथा the texts have ऽहिना and for ऽपि संजीवति both read न तच्चक्षुषा, which gives a much better sense. The Bombay text has वरम for वरमही, while Gopi Nath reads मंजो for वैद्यो. The commentary has the meaningless सांत for संति.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 76. This is not given in the Bombay text, but is No. 99 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is apparently an Āryā form, but does not exactly correspond with any of those given by Apte or Kale.

In the first hemistich the scribe has omitted the म of मनो and in the second the ग of संगमे. Gopi Nath reads विरहोऽपि at the beginning.

The second hemistich runs quite differently in Gopi Nath's edition, as follows :—

यद्दृश्यविषयितः स संगमोऽपि विरहं विवेक्षयति ॥

Sanskrit Stanza No. 77. This is No. 83 in the Bombay text and No. 82 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Hariṇī.

The scribe has dropped the स of अपसर and the फ of इतरफणिना. He has also omitted the anusvāra of ग्रस्तं and the visarga of मंचिणः. The texts both read चतुर for चटुल, and Bombay edition has शिख for विष and also reads दष्टाः and शक्याश्च in the plural.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 78. This is No. 17 in the Bombay text and No. 17 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Vasantatilakā.

The printed texts both begin as follows :—

यस्याः स्तनौ यदि धनौ जघनं विहारि वक्त्रं च चारु, the rest of the stanza corresponding with the reading of the manuscript. The commentary has by error वहारि for विहारि.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 79. This is No. 36 in the Bombay text and No. 36 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa.

The printed texts read कृताः for भृतः. Gopi Nath's edition has कथाम् for कलाम् and परिमलाः for परिमल. In the commentary बह्वर्थु is written by error for यद् अर्थु, and पालास for पलास. The commentary on this stanza is incomplete and does not deal with the whole of the Sanskrit text.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 80. This is No. 44 in the Bombay text and No. 44 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shikharinī.

The scribe has omitted the ई of वली and the न् of स्फुरद्गन्ध and he has inserted प्र superfluously before प्रीत्युत्पलः. The printed texts read केतकि for केतक and प्रीत्युत्पलदनिगद

after गन्धः, also कलखः for कलमितः. The commentary on this stanza is again incomplete.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 81. This is not given in the Bombay text, but it is No. 100 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shikharinī.

The only variation in reading is that Gopi Nath gives विलासैक after अभिनव instead of विकारैक. In the commentary on this line there is a quotation (line 296) from the *Amara Kosha*, and also a stanza is quoted and explained from the *Māgha Kāvya* (*Shishupālavadha*). This is the 34th stanza of the 11th canto of that poem and is in the *Mālinī* metre.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 82. This is No. 35 in the Bombay text and No. 35 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is *Shārdūlavikrīṛita*.

The printed texts both read विचित्राः क्षपाः for विचित्रास्रज which is obviously wrong in omitting visarga. For हंत हृदयं the Bombay text has नेत्रहृदये, while Gopi Nath reads अवेहि हृदयं. Both texts read सितांशी for हिमांशी and किलकिंचिदेव for किलकिंतिस्य. The commentary quotes a stanza in the *Vasantatilakā* metre from the *Shṛṅgāra Dīpikā*, in which क्रोघो appears to be written by error for क्रोधो which is given in the commentary. The commentary on this stanza after evidently branching off to deal with a different Sanskrit text, which does not correspond to any Sanskrit stanza in the manuscript, concludes by finishing the commentary on No. 83. ताने is a clerical error for बाने before चैत्रे in the commentary. In the Sanskrit text the repha is dropped after मुहु, thereby spoiling the metre.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 83. This is No. 40 in the Bombay text and No. 40 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is *Shikharinī*.

The scribe has written प्रिय for प्रिया in प्रियावत्ताम्बीजं and अखिलं for अखिलं. In the commentary the inconsistent



सशधर is found for शशधर. The commentary on this stanza is incomplete. After quoting the words नतु विषय the commentator or copyist follows them by अश्रुपातः and proceeds to finish the incomplete part of the commentary on No. 82.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 84. This is No. 31 in the Bombay text and No. 31 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anuṣṭubh.

The printed texts both read आवासः for निवासः, and Gopi Nath has पापहारिणि for पापवारिणि, and स्तनदय for स्तनमध्ये, which the Bombay edition reads मुक्ताहारिणि for मनोहारिणि.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 85. This is not given in the Bombay text and is not to be found in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anuṣṭubh.

The text and commentary are both free from mistakes and present no difficulty.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 86. This is No. 45 in the Bombay text and No. 45 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shikharinī.

The manuscript has प्रौढं wrongly in the Sanskrit for प्रौढ. The texts both read अश्रुचोसंसारं for अश्रुचोसंचारं and दृषदां for नितरां. For जलदे the Bombay edition has जलदा and Gopi Nath reads जलद. The latter also has ग्लानिं for ज्ञानिं. Both printed texts have ध्वनिप्राथि तस्मिन् for ध्वनिप्राचं मन्थि, while for the words पथि स्वैरिसदृशां at the end Gopi Nath reads पथिष्विव सदृशाम् and the Bombay text has the same with त (by error) for य. In the commentary पुरष appears for य.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 87. This is No. 12 in the Bombay text and No. 12 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa.

The scribe by haplography has written परंगते for परं पारं गते. For चैवं the Bombay edition has मित्थं and Gopi Nath चैत्थं. Both texts read चीमं for रागं. In the commentary we find समीष for यमीष, शंसार for संसार, and कतुं है for कहतु है, while the variant spellings कलस and कलग appear.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 88. This is No. 32 in the Bombay text and No. 32 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Gīti.

The Sanskrit text differs greatly from that of the printed editions, which begin with प्रियपुरतो युवतीनां instead of प्रायः प्रणयवतीनां and end with मधुसुनिर्मलः पवनः instead of मलयपवमानः. Gopi Nath's text omits मधुसु before निर्मल thus spoiling the metre.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 89. This is No. 37 in the Bombay text and No. 37 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Āryā.

The texts both have विधुर instead of सुदित before मधुपे. In the commentary कर is meaninglessly repeated after निकर by dittography.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 90. This is No. 39 in the Bombay text and No. 39 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shikharinī. The printed texts both read कासारी for पुष्पाणां. For the words beginning with निदाघ the Bombay edition reads निदाघं तुणं तत्सुखमुपलभंते and Gopi Nath has निदाघातार्त्तं जेतत्सुखमुपलभंते.

In the commentary यानिबी is wrongly for जानिबी, श्लेक for श्लोक, and फूलवि for फूलनि.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 91. This is No. 42 in the Bombay text and No. 42 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Mālinī. The texts both have वियदुपचितमेधं.

Neither the Sanskrit text nor the commentary presents any difficulties. The word तरहरि in the commentary means below and seems to be connected with तर (तले) below and हार ground, field. In the modern Avadhi dialect it means low lying ground as opposed to “uparhar.”

Sanskrit Stanza No. 92. This is No. 41 in the Bombay text and No. 41 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Upachitrā.

The manuscript wrongly reads दीषित for दीपित in the Sanskrit stanza. The texts both have विकसितजाती for विकसज्जाती. In the commentary हा is written after उन्नत instead of कहा.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 93. This is No. 46 in the Bombay text and No. 46 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa.

The manuscript wrongly reads हर्मत : for हर्म्यत :. The printed texts read जाता : for जालै : and वांत्यन्त (Bombay) and अत्यन्त (Gopi Nath) for रत्यंत. They both have प्रियतमैर्यातुं बहिः शक्यते for प्रियतमः शक्नोति गंतुं बहिः. In the commentary a superfluous ए is written before the words प्रिया के संगम and a superfluous श before the दृ of आयतदृशा. Visarga is also wrongly written unnecessarily after आसारेण.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 94. This is No. 47 in the Bombay text and No. 47 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Sragdharā.

The Sanskrit text gives the barbarous form सुत्वा. The printed texts both read नीत्वा. The texts also read दृणी for तर्णी, खिन्न for सन्न and कर्करीती for शर्कराभां.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 95. This is not given in the Bombay text, but is No. 12 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Sragdharā. The printed text has प्रचल for प्रबल and नी कण्ठलग्ना for कंठे लग्ना.

In the commentary जेषां is wrongly written for the Sanskrit येषां and निनर्थक is again found for निरर्थक (meaningless).

Sanskrit Stanza No. 96. This is No. 48 in the Bombay text and No. 48 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Shārdūlavikrīṭa.

In the Sanskrit सर्पिरसना has been wrongly written for सर्पिरशना. For वृत्तोरुस्तन the Bombay text has पौनोरुस्तन and Gopi Nath reads पौनोरुस्तन. The commentary to this stanza is almost entirely missing, having been written on leaf No. 49 which is lost.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 97. This is No. 50 in the Bombay text and No. 50 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Sragdharā.

This stanza is the one on the missing leaf of the manuscript, but its identity is clear from the portion of the commentary on the first page of leaf No. 50 इति ङी at the beginning is an obvious blunder for इत्यङ्गी. The leaf is torn and restorations, e.g. सीत्कार and शिशिर, have been necessary. In another place the copyist instead of writing स्त्री followed by सीत्कारहि ran the two words together thus स्त्रीत्कारहि. We also find दंतकत wrongly written for दंतकद (lip).

Sanskrit Stanza No. 98. This is No. 49 in the Bombay text and No. 49 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Sragdharā.

The copyist has written the meaningless सीलतान्य for सीलतान्य. There are two gaps in the Sanskrit, but both are replaceable from the printed texts and also indicated by the commentary. The text of the commentary is badly damaged and requires restoration in about ten places, two

or three of which present a little difficulty, *e.g.* कौ सरसिकी after स्तननि and कुवत है तब after षोडशीनि.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 99. This is No. 99 in the Bombay text and No. 98 in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Anuṣṭubh.

The Bombay text reads संचरत्येकी and also चापर for कश्चन, and भ्रमति for चरति. The commentary on this stanza, which is very brief, is slightly damaged on the right hand margin, but the missing letters can be restored easily.

Sanskrit Stanza No. 100. This is No. 100 in the Bombay text and is not given in Gopi Nath's edition. The metre is Āryā.

The Bombay text reads न मनः कामः सरोजिन्याः instead of न नाम कामः सरोजानां, and नास्ति for नाति, also तस्मिन् for तत्र. In the commentary a few letters are destroyed by the tearing and fraying of the leaf on the right edge, but they can be restored without any difficulty or room for doubt.













